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NEW SERIES. VOL. VII.

JANUARY—JUNE, 1896.

The University of Chicago Press
1896

39296
1076/97

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PRINTED AT

The University of Chicago Press

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ADOLF HARNACK.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VII.

JANUARY, 1896

NUMBER I

THE unique thing in Israel was not psalmody, for there are ancient penitential psalms much older than any which have come down to us from David ; nor legislation, since many ancient nations worked out systems of law embodying important principles ; nor philosophy, for important as were the problems of Hebrew philosophy, it cannot be said that any of these problems were satisfactorily solved. The one thing which Israel possessed, to which other ancient nations may legitimately lay no claim, was *prophecy*.

IN any study of prophecy it is essential that the right point of view be gained. A failure to appreciate the relationships of prophecy will involve a failure to appreciate its real nature. Prophecy was compelled to adopt as its vocabulary, words and expressions used in pagan divination or in the ordinary forms of speech. The word for "prophet" was applied to a particular class of persons in a comparatively early period of the development of the class, and described a certain characteristic, namely, "the inspiration that streamed upon them and seemed to snatch them away beyond the limit of self-conscious thinking life." The verb from which this noun is derived means in certain forms "to go about raving under the constraining influence of a high power ; an irresistible excitement." The fundamental root represents an involuntary speaker ; one who speaks under compulsion that which has been communicated to him. This earlier sense, in which there is a reference to a trance or ecstatic vision, was in

PROPHECY
IN ISRAEL

THE
VOCABULARY
OF PROPHECY

later times to a greater or less extent lost. The phrase, "and God said," is the most common expression in sacred literature to represent the prophetic utterances. This phrase, it may be observed, (1) is indefinite as to the manner of speech, being used like the other expressions of divine communication; (2) soon came to represent the prompting of the heart, the voice of conscience, and is used not infrequently of utterances and of ideas which the false prophet represented as coming from God, or which later experience shows that God himself would not endorse. The false prophet in this case cannot always be charged with a purpose to deceive, for in many instances he honestly believed that he was telling the word of God. Time, therefore, was required to sift the alleged "sayings of God" and to determine whether after all they bore the divine stamp; provision for this test, it will be remembered, was made by Moses before his death.

IN securing its vocabulary, therefore, prophecy was compelled to have recourse to language which had already been adopted by heathen soothsayers, or phrases which had only an ordinary meaning. In the former case the spirit of prophecy purged and purified the word, modifying very greatly its essential meaning; in the latter case it lifts the ordinary phrase to a higher and nobler plane. The point deserving of special consideration in all this is that while prophecy was unique, it nevertheless had as its point of departure something, the need of which all other nations felt; something, indeed, for which they had a kind of substitute, but something which they had not yet secured.

ORDINARILY there has been ignored in the consideration of Israelitish prophecy what really constitutes its most important element, namely, the educating and uplifting influence of certain lives and events which are to be interpreted as real prophecy, as at all events intended, if there is such a thing as a plan in history, to do for the people what direct *utterance* of great and fundamen-

THE UNIVERSAL
NEED OF
PROPHECY

PROPHECY IN
HISTORY AND
BIOGRAPHY

tal truths would do. Every great life in Israelitish history was a prophecy; every great event was a religious object lesson. These lives and events furnish the basis for all prophetic utterances. Any treatment of Old Testament prophecy which does not include the important events of Israelitish history will be one-sided and incomplete. Israel is unique in many things and most of all in the loftiness and ideal character of its great men, and in the strange and miraculous character of its historical situations throughout centuries. All this material constitutes what may be called living prophecy.

IN many cases a prophet inspired from above tells the story of the past recalling how God led individuals or nations. He writes down this record of the past; a patriarch's devotion to Jehovah and the reward; the nation's apostasy and the slavery which followed; a royal prayer and the miraculous deliverance; a prophetic mission and the city turned from sin. With what motive in mind has he written these stories? In order to encourage or warn his countrymen. These experiences of the past show the people of his times the reason for the calamity which has befallen them or serve as notes of encouragement with reference to future relief. This material—the larger part of Genesis, the first half of Exodus, the Books of Judges, Samuel, and Kings, is prophecy, and, when recognized as stories told in order to convey religious truth, they will be most easily understood. Tradition itself calls the Books of Samuel and Kings prophetic books. To omit this material from prophecy is to overlook the very basis of all prophecy, and indeed, prophetic utterance in its simplest and most effective form. To distinguish this kind of prophetic utterance from other kinds we may perhaps use the term *experience* prophecy.

WHEN the speaker who represented God looked about him and saw at one time corruption, cruelty, and apostasy, at another right living, kindness and loyalty, and assured those within the reach of his voice that the one situation was contrary to God's law, destined to bring down severe and condign punishment; that the other situation

EXPERIENCE
PROPHECY

DESCRIPTIVE
PROPHECY

was in accordance with the law of God, and already marked with indications of divine favor — this was prophecy of the present and may be called *descriptive* prophecy. The speaker in tones which all understand describes, now in pathetic speech, now with scathing irony, the sins and wickedness of the people about him. The shortcomings of all classes are known to him; he rebukes kings; he pleads with the masses; no profession, no calling is too high or too low; all alike deserve his criticism, his stern rebuke; all alike, when needed, receive his words of comfort and encouragement. Such speech, in which the books of prophecy abound, is prophecy growing out of the present, principally for the sake of the present.

SOMETIMES the prophet from his position on the watch tower sees at a distance that which is approaching, and going down into the midst of the people, he points those in distress or perhaps great suffering, to that glorious future on which he dwells so often and so lovingly; or in thundering tones depicts the divine wrath which is soon to sweep through the land, filled as it is with corruption and idolatry, and leave it a scene of desolation. For what purpose were such pictures presented to the people? In order to encourage or to warn; to inspire them to right action or to deter them from wrong action. It is when studied from this point of view that *predictive* prophecy can be understood.

LIVES and events, stories from the past, rehearsed to teach a lesson, the depicting of the prophets own present, the predicting of future situations, all this enters into prophecy, and all this must be considered in any adequate treatment of the subject. No man will deny that the prophetic utterances of the Old Testament have influenced modern thought more than any other single class of utterances. The importance of the subject must appeal to all. The character of God has shown itself more clearly in these sayings than in any other which have come down to us from before the times of Christ. Is there not incentive and inspiration to such study in the thought that it treats the history

of the thought of those men who of all men in ancient times communed most closely with God?

WITH these words of introduction our readers are referred to the outlines for guidance in the study of the history of prophecy, of which the first is published in this issue. These outlines are intended to suggest topics for consideration, with full references to the most accessible literature. Ten numbers of *THE BIBLICAL WORLD* during 1896 will contain one such outline. Those who follow the outlines are invited to send in questions, the answers to which may be published in the *WORLD*.

FOUR TYPES OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

By PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE,
Free Church College, Glasgow.

II. THE PAULINE EPISTLES.

The religious history of Paul.—The influence of his rabbinical training,—and of his conversion.—How he arrived at his conception of the vicarious significance of Christ's death.—“Righteousness of God” and the work of Christ.—Faith.—The Fatherhood of God—as compared with the view of Jesus—as a reality.—Other Pauline doctrines:—sin, atonement, Holy Spirit, Christology.

It goes without saying that a man with Paul's very remarkable religious history, not to speak of his not less remarkable natural endowments, would have his own way of thinking concerning the Christian faith. Individuality in conception is a natural sequel of individuality in experience. The former is a reflection of the latter and is best understood in the light of it.

The religious history of Paul, in its main outlines, is well known from certain of the letters ascribed to him contained in the New Testament collection of writings. Which of all these letters, if not all, are certainly genuine, need not be here discussed. Suffice it to say that the most important for biographical and doctrinal purposes alike, are also the most surely authentic, those, viz., to the Galatian, Corinthian and Roman churches. These four epistles are in an emphatic sense the literature of *Paulinism*.

From these letters we learn that Saul of Tarsus had such a religious history as made it (1) wonderful that he ever became a Christian and (2) that if he did become a Christian he would be a very extraordinary one both in the sphere of thought and in the sphere of conduct. The simple facts are these: He got his early education in Rabbinical schools. He was initiated into the rigor of Pharisaic piety. He was an apt pupil both in Rabbinic theory and in Pharisaic practice, an enthusiast, a zealot,

ambitious to excel as a virtuoso in legal righteousness and easily successful in his ambition. Hostility to the new religion, as soon as it crossed his path, was a matter of course for such a man. He will oppose the disciples of Jesus the crucified as resolutely and relentlessly as the previous generation of Pharisees had opposed their Master.

A persecutor by the traditions of his class, by personal conviction, and by policy, the wonder is that he ceased to be such and became a believer and a preacher of the faith which he once destroyed. Saul's conversion is one of the most surprising events in the history of primitive Christianity, presenting for study a most interesting psychological and apologetic problem. Here we accept it simply as a fact and concern ourselves not with its causes but with its significance and consequences. For such an one as Saul, the man of keen intellect, of intense moral earnestness, of resolute will and devoted temper, and to crown all, the ex-Pharisee, to become a Christian, means much. "All things are become new" is his own strong characterization of the change. "All things," well, at least many things, and these the most vital. Apparent to every one is the change from persecutor to preacher, from gainsayer to believer. But beneath the surface is a more radical change, an altered view of God and his relation to man and of the nature and conditions of salvation. The Rabbinical God was simply a legislator to whom men stood in the relation of subjects, the relation between God and man being purely legal, God saying: Do this or do that, man trying hard to comply with the behest, in fear of the divine frown if he failed, in hope of the divine favor if he succeeded. Such was the God of Saul the Pharisee, and such his habitual attitude towards him. For Paul the Christian all that is changed. God the legislator exacting conformity to his law has become God the gracious giver; man the slaving toiler in obedience has become the humble, grateful receiver. This alteration in the conception of God and man and their relations is the fundamental element in the change. Paul's Christian theology is simply an elaborate attempt to formulate the new position and its implications.

All things new, in the main point, and in the deepest sense.

But it will not surprise us to find the new Christian man, so far as religious attitude is concerned, still in some respects the old pupil of the Rabbis, in his attempts at formulating and defending his new position, especially if these attempts are made in connection with a controversy against men who do not accept in its integrity the Christian principle of salvation by grace. Controversy is a very binding thing. It compels you to argue on common ground, to use arguments that carry weight with opponents, and to employ current and familiar phraseology. Now all Paul's leading epistles, especially the four above named, were written under the pressure of a controversy with a party in the church who, while nominally Christian, had never broken with Judaistic legalism. Hence a perceptible mixture of old and new; the use of categories borrowed from Pharisaic theology to express Christian conceptions, the employment of Rabbinical methods of interpreting scripture to establish anti-Rabbinical positions. These relics of the pre-Christian period would have supplied no legitimate occasion for either surprise or offense even had there been no controversy to explain and excuse them. Even in the most radical moral changes we must expect some features to remain which keep up the continuity of character. Not only should we expect such, we might almost desire them. They serve as interesting notes of individuality; they help to connect a man with his time; and, more important function, they are a foil to show the greatness of the change which has taken place in more vital matters. Paul's religious intuitions are Christian, his arguments and interpretations are sometimes Rabbinical; if for us they have not always much value either as argument or as interpretation, they help us at least to gauge the magnitude of the revolution which made a man so firmly held in the grasp of old usage in secondary matters so utterly different from his former self in his inmost spirit.

Though the Pauline epistles were called forth by controversy many years after the writer's conversion to Christianity, we are not to suppose that the articulations of faith therein contained then for the first time occurred to his mind. It would be at once an intellectual and a religious necessity for Paul as soon as

he became a believer in Jesus to master by reflection the significance of his new faith, and it may be assumed that the process was well nigh completed during the period of three years spent in the Arabian desert (Gal. 1:17). What would one not give for an autobiographical account of Paul's mental history during that eventful time! Yet it is not impossible imaginatively to reconstruct it in broad outline. Paul's conversion meant two things at least; a final conviction that along the line of legal righteousness, salvation, in the sense of peace of conscience or peace with God, was not attainable; and a firm belief that the Jesus who appeared to him on the way to Damascus was the Christ. The former of these positions he had reached before the eventful days of his conversion, through the despair-inspiring perception that sin did not consist only in outward acts, but especially in states of feeling, such as coveting. This discovery prepared him for receiving the other truth, and doubtless helped to precipitate the final crisis. Here, then, is Saul the convert furnished with two items of his Christian creed; Salvation by legal righteousness impossible; Jesus the Christ. Both items raise further questions. If legal righteousness be not the true way to salvation, what then is the way? If Jesus be the Christ, why did he suffer on the cross? At first the two problems might present themselves as distinct, but ere long they probably merged into one. The two questions were both very urgent, and we may conceive the young convert attacking now the one and now the other, with a presentiment that an answer to either would turn out to be at the same time an answer to the other. Let us suppose him occupied with the latter of the two. Jesus the Christ, yet a crucified man; an antinomy urgently demanding resolution. For Saul the Pharisee this had appeared an impossible combination. Jesus then seemed to him not the Christ but a pretender to Messiahship, justly suffering for his false, blasphemous pretensions. But now that the Christhood can no longer be disputed what account is to be given of his sufferings, which as a matter of history, are beyond all doubt? Of course, it can no longer be thought that the crucified one suffered for his own sin. Paul sees only one alternative. He must

have suffered for the sins of others. Another possible view, superficially if not radically distinct was: He suffered like the prophets for righteousness' sake. That was the first lesson Jesus himself taught the disciples concerning the meaning of his death. That aspect of the matter did not suggest itself to Paul's mind, or if it did he was not able to find intellectual, still less, moral rest in it. This, because first it was an axiom with him that all suffering is on account of sin, either one's own or that of another. One's own presumably in the first place, but the other alternative could not appear inconceivable to one familiar with the words, "The Lord hath laid upon him the iniquity of us all." Another reason why Paul's mind settled down at once on the vicarious significance of Christ's death was the following: It offered a ready solution of the other problem; if salvation is not by legal righteousness how then? Pressed hard by this imperious question the convert's mind grasped the great thought: *Jesus by death made a sinner for us that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.*

"The righteousness of God"—this is one of the outstanding phrases of Paulinism; it is indeed the key-word of the Pauline theology. It is peculiar to Paul; it is nowhere in the New Testament used in the same sense; it expresses a very peculiar idea, startling, original and daring, by no means one that readily occurs to the mind in connection with the words, a fact virtually acknowledged by Paul by the omission of the article before *δικαιοσύνη* (Rom. 1:17; 3:22) giving us not "the righteousness of God," but "a righteousness of God," as if it were something which stood very much in need of definition. So it does, for the phrase does not mean, as we might naturally expect God's personal righteousness, nor even the righteousness which God requires of us, but the righteousness which God gives, or rather it means both the two latter things together. In this coinage of the great apostle extremes meet; legalism and antilegalism; legalism in so far as it implies that God, as the Judaists contended demanded righteousness from all, antilegalism in so far as it implies that the righteousness which God demands he at the same time bestows. What then is this righteousness which God

bestows? It consists in counting us for, treating us as righteous when we are not. Practically it is equivalent to *pardon*. This is clearly implied in the passage, Romans 4:6-8, "Even as David describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works, saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven and whose sins are covered. Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin." The man to whom God gives righteousness, whom he "justifies," is a man whose sins he freely forgiveth.

But this divine gift of righteousness, or of pardon, the apostle ever connects with the death of Christ as its procuring cause. So in the text from 2 Corinthians already referred to: "He hath made him to be sin for us" (2 Cor. 5:21); so also in Romans 3:24, "Being justified freely by His grace through the redemption that is in Christ Jesus." Whether the apostle could or would have used the expression, "the righteousness of God," as a synonym for pardon without conscious reference to Christ's death cannot be determined; the fact is that in his letters the two things are always associated so closely as to suggest that he conceived of the righteousness which God bestows as the righteousness of the crucified Redeemer set to the credit of those who believe in him. Such, as is well known, is the interpretation put on his teaching in the Westminster standards. In the Shorter Catechism justification is defined as an act of God's free grace "wherein he pardoneth all our sins, and accepteth us as righteous, only for the righteousness of Christ imputed to us and received by faith alone." Yet Paul himself nowhere identifies the righteousness of God with the righteousness of Christ, or speaks of the latter as imputed. He always speaks of the imputation of *faith*, never of the imputation of Christ's righteousness. "To him that worketh not, but believeth on Him that justifieth the ungodly, his *faith* is counted for righteousness" (Rom. 4:5).

Of course, faith is a great word in the Pauline theology. It could not fail to be, in a system whose fundamental axiom was that salvation is by *grace*, and which waged uncompromising war with the notion that a man could commend himself to God by

legal righteousness. "Faith alone" is Paul's watchword; faith *versus* works. Faith in his view is good for everything, good to begin with, good to end with; good for justification, good for sanctification; good for bringing initial peace to the troubled conscience, good for establishing the permanent stable peace of a spiritual mind. He is prepared to fight it out on that line, against Judaists, and against still more formidable foes—the devil, the world, and the flesh. For faith, as he conceives it, is no mere hand to grasp a benefit, imputed righteousness, as protestant scholastics represent it; it is a powerful, energetic principle, working towards personal sanctity by the purest and highest of all motives—love. Πίστις δι' ἀγάπης ἐνεργουμένη (Gal. 5:5).

Note here the essential agreement, amid superficial differences, between Paul and the Lord Jesus. In his fundamental axiom that salvation is of grace, or that the true relation between God and man is not definable in terms of law, and in his lofty conception of the function and power of faith, as at once the humble recipient of divine benefits and the root principle of a Godlike life, the apostle is the true disciple of the great Master. His theology is in several respects his own, but his deep religious intuitions are identical with those which lend an undying charm to the "Galilean Gospel."

These remarks naturally introduce the question: Does Paul follow the Lord Jesus in his way of speaking concerning God? Is the Fatherhood prominent in his pages? The answer must be a qualified one. The Fatherhood is there but not so prominently, and even when it does occur it is presented in a different, less spontaneous, more artificial aspect. It is noticeable that the name Father is applied to God more frequently in the gospels than in any other part of the New Testament, the Pauline epistles not excepted. It seems as if this name for God had not quite secured for itself a dominant place in the Christian consciousness of the apostolic church. The fact may be used as a voucher for the historic fidelity of the evangelists in their presentation of the teaching of Jesus. They make the Master speak a language which never gained full currency, manifestly in obedience not to present fashion but to past fact. But Paul was too

well acquainted with the mind, too much in sympathy with the spirit of Jesus, not to know, value, and frequently use his favorite name for the divine being. Yet in his use we mark a difference. God appears as the father of *adopted* sons. The privilege of those who believe in Christ is to receive adoption (*υιοθεσία*), to be constituted sons. The sonship of man as man seems to be ignored, and the sonship even of Christians seems to be something artificial, incomplete, unreal; for an adopted son can never be the same as a son begotten and born. One would say the pupil of the rabbis speaks here, the ex-legalist, still legal in his phraseology, if anti-legal and evangelic in his meaning. The latter he certainly is, for he sets the privilege of adoption in antithesis to the bondage under the law. "To redeem them that were under the law that we might receive the adoption of sons." And I make bold to say that in his doctrine of sonship Paul is more evangelic, more Christian, than his terminology might seem to suggest. For, observe, in what we may call the classic passage bearing on the subject, Galatians 4: 1-7, being constituted sons (*υιοθεσία*) is predicated of those who have been sons all along, but, as minors, have differed nothing from slaves, but been under guardians of their persons, and stewards of their estate. Therefore the so-called "adoption" really means "making sons indeed, to the full extent of realizing all that sonship implies in the way of privilege, of those who were sons before in name and standing, but not in spirit and in consciously enjoyed privilege." The sons in name are a large category, embracing Jews before the Christian era, pagans, prodigal, all men, irrespective of race, character or religion.

Paul's doctrine of the fatherhood and of sonship is nearer Christ's than it at first seemed. This becomes increasingly apparent as we make ourselves acquainted with his splendid appreciation of the spirit and privilege of sonship. Sonship as he describes it is no empty name but a grand spiritual reality, a state of freedom from the law, which is graphically depicted now as a jailer, now as a pedagogue, now as a system of tutors and governors, now as a stern, cruel husband, from all which the son of God by faith in Jesus Christ is happily delivered. The spirit of

sonship as it appears in his pages, is a spirit of trust, as opposed to legal fear, able to look up to heaven and call God father; a spirit of gladness and irrepressible buoyancy, rejoicing in glorious future prospects, in present tribulations, and in God above all; a spirit of hope, optimistic in mood, and resolutely believing that all things worked together for good; a spirit of lordship over the world, defiant of hostile powers, and serving itself heir to all things that have any capacity in them for promoting good ends. In short, read Romans 8, if you want to know what a grand thing sonship is in the apostle's mind.

The righteousness of God, justification by faith, adoption—these three words embody the central conceptions of St. Paul concerning the way and nature of salvation. But Paulinism is a large subject and there are other weighty topics falling to be considered in any adequate handling of the theme. Among these, of the first order of importance are *the doctrine of sin*, *the theory of atonement*, *the Holy Spirit* and *the Person of Christ*. A few rapid hints on these great matters are all that can be offered here.

All that Paul says on the subject of *sin* is subordinate to his fundamental thesis that salvation by the method of legal righteousness is impossible. His doctrine of sin is just his negative doctrine of justification. With this in view he makes four affirmations: (1) Sin is generally prevalent, among Jews and Gentiles alike, often in aggravated forms (Rom. 1 and 2). (2) Sin is universally prevalent, reigning over all without exception, for death reigneth over all, and where death is, sin must be (Rom. 5:12-19). (3) Sin not only reigneth *over* man as a malign death-bringing power, but *in* him making him a slave to evil, through the medium of the *flesh* (Rom. 7:18-20). (4) Because of the flesh with its evil bias, even the God-given holy law is impotent to make a man good; it rather acts as an irritant to transgression (Rom. 7:7-13). Under all these heads the apostle's treatment of his subject is characteristically bold and original. Under the first by the terribly realistic description of the actual sin of the world; under the second by the asserted connection between the sin of Adam and the universal prevalence of sin and

death; under the third by a view of the flesh which seems to border on Manichæism; under the fourth by a conception of the function of the law which seems at once paradoxical, and contrary to the teaching of Old Testament scripture. The second, third, and fourth items are among the most knotty and disputed points of the Pauline system of thought. Happily the doctrines taught on these topics, however important in their own place, are not vital to faith. They are remarkable theologoumena of a subtle, earnest thinker who shrank from no problem however difficult. Nothing similar is to be found in the teaching of Jesus. No recorded word of his touches on the connection between the first man and the rest of the human race, or even so much as suggests, not to say teaches, that the flesh is inherently and incurably sinful, or hints that the law was, and was meant to be, a hindrance rather than a help to holiness.

Paul's theory of atonement is a large theme, but it may be outlined in a few sentences. It may be described generally as a theory of redemption by the *self-humiliation* of the Redeemer. The Redeemer in love stoops down into the position of those whom he would redeem and the divinely appointed reward of this meritorious act is that men *ipso facto* enter into the state of privilege which properly belongs to him. The Redeemer humbles himself thoroughly, entering into the unblessed condition of his clients in all its aspects; coming under the law, its curse, God's wrath, death, therefore sin, and the temptations arising from the flesh, because men are under these, and so delivering us from them all. Each act in the drama of self-humiliation possesses its own emancipating virtue. Coming under law (*e. g.*, by being circumcised), Jesus delivers from bondage to the law, and so on with all the other categories. The redemption is *objectively* complete at once. The law's dominion was at an end for humanity as soon as the Son of God condescended to come under it. "'Tis finished, legal worship ends, And gospel ages run." But objective redemption simply means the view which God for Christ's sake is graciously pleased to take of the world. The objective state of privilege must be subjectively realized in order that the redemption may be complete. How is the subjective

realization achieved? The answer to the question is one of the most characteristic features of Paulinism. The power lies in what Pfleiderer has called Paul's faith-mysticism. The apostle was not content to teach an objective identity between Christ and mankind in virtue of which he became, in God's sight, our vicar, representative or substitute, dying in our stead. He asserts in every possible form of expression a subjective identity, in virtue of which all that happened to the Redeemer repeats itself in our experience. Does he die? we die with him; is he buried? we are buried along with him; does he rise again? we rise also; does he ascend into heaven? we too make for the upper regions.

Closely connected with this doctrine of the mystic power of faith to make the believer die, rise and ascend with Christ is the Pauline doctrine of the *Holy Spirit*. The Holy Spirit in Paul's system of thought goes along with faith as a guarantee for *Christian holiness*. Faith he conceived as a mighty moral force working through love towards sanctity. The Holy Spirit he similarly conceived as a divine power immanent in us, making steadily towards the same goal. Now this view of the Holy Spirit as the immanent source of Christian holiness, a common-place of theology now, is one of the originalities of Paulinism. The conception of the Holy Spirit and his work in the primitive church was different. They thought of him chiefly as the source of spiritual gifts of a miraculous nature, such as speaking with tongues, of *χαρίσματα* rather than *χάρις*; and of the manner of his action as occasional, intermittent, transcendent. Paul's great contribution was to conceive of the Spirit's work as *ethical* rather than as charismatic, immanent rather than transcendent, constant rather than intermittent. The fruit of the Spirit, thought primitive disciples, is speaking with tongues, prophesying, healing disease. The fruit of the Spirit, said the great apostle, is "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." Men of all modern theological schools recognize the epoch-making significance of the saying.

It was a matter of course that a man entertaining Paul's conception of salvation should have a lofty idea of the person of

Christ. It is in his soteriology that we must seek the roots of his Christology. The function of redemption performed by Christ secured for him in Paul's grateful heart the place of Lord, object of devoted love and even of worship. Out of a full heart he calls him "our Lord Jesus Christ" when he thinks of him as the source of "peace with God." This peace Paul believed to have been secured by the death of Jesus. That belief involved belief in the Saviour's sinlessness. Had he been a sinner he would have died for his own sin. Dying for the sin of others he must have known no sin. In the resurrection of the Redeemer Paul saw the guarantee of his sinlessness. It proved that he suffered for *our* offenses, not his own; therefore he rose again for our justification (Rom. 4:25). On these two foundations the sinlessness of Jesus and his resurrection Paul's doctrine of Christ's person was mainly founded. Hence the explicit reference to them in the opening sentences of the Epistle to the Romans, where the apostle takes occasion to define his Christological position. He there names Jesus "God's Son, Jesus Christ our Lord," and represents him as declared to be (or constituted) the Son of God with power according to the *spirit of holiness* by the *resurrection from the dead*. That is, this august person, a descendant of *David* on the side of his flesh, is made and shown to be, in a signal manner *God's Son*, on the spiritual side of his being, by the holiness of his life, and, by way of climax, by the resurrection.

Christ's own favorite self-designation, Son of Man, we miss in St. Paul's pages. The apostle had a firm grasp of the *humiliation* of Jesus in his earthly life, but he did not employ that title to express the fact that he who was intrinsically rich, for our sakes became poor. In place of this lowly name we find another which sets forth Christ's humanity in its ideal significance, the last Adam, the second man from heaven. This was a name which would naturally commend itself to one who was an enthusiastic advocate of Christian universalism, of a gospel for the world, not merely for the Jews. Paul's mind found in these designations, the last Adam, the man from heaven, the fitting expression for the fact that Jesus, like the first man, stood

as Redeemer, in a representative relation to the whole human race.

"Son of God." Did Paul use this designation strictly as implying divinity, or in a more general sense, as denoting ethical affinity in a preëminent but not exclusive sense? It is certain that in some texts he represents Christ's sonship as something he has in common with believers, as in the well-known passage, Romans 8:29, "Whom he did foreknow, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son that he might be the first-born among many brethren." Yet even in the same chapter from which these words are taken, phrases occur which seem to point to a unique relation, *e. g.*, "His own Son" (v. 3, τὸν ἑαυτοῦ υἱόν, v. 32, τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ). And there are other texts in the Pauline epistles where Christ seems to have a place assigned to him within the divine sphere, *e. g.*, 1 Thess., 1:10, where Jesus is called God's Son in a connection of thought in which Paul describes the faith of the Thessalonians as a turning from idols to serve the living and true God. After so characterizing the objects of heathen worship the apostle would doubtless feel it needful to be careful how he expressed himself concerning the object of the Christian faith. And yet he has no hesitation in calling Jesus God's Son. Still more significant is the manner in which he characterizes Jesus in 1 Cor., 8, again in a context containing an antithesis between heathenism and Christian theism. "If," he says, referring to Pagan ideas, "there be gods so called (λεγόμενοι θεοὶ) whether in heaven, or upon earth, as indeed there are gods many and lords many, for us there is one God the Father from whom are all things and we for him, and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we through him." This may be taken to be as careful a statement as the apostle knows how to make. The epithet Father applied to God implies the epithet Son, applicable to Jesus Christ, and though the emphatic εἰς prefixed to θεός (one God) may seem to exclude Christ the Son from the divine sphere and make his lordship, however lofty, something below deity, yet the functions assigned to him as one by or for whom all things, and we through him, seem to run par-

allel to those assigned to God the Father and to exalt him to the level of Godhead.

Whether the apostle ever expressly called Jesus God, depends on the interpretation put on the words in Romans 9:5, ὁ ὢν ἐπὶ πάντων θεὸς εὐλογητὸς εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας rendered in the authorized version, "Who is over all God blessed forever." It might be taken as a doxology—may the God who is over all be blessed forever; in which case the words would not refer to Christ. The history of opinion on this question, on which scholars are much divided, cannot be gone into here.

DOOM OF THE NORTH.¹

Isaiah 9:8-10:4.

Arranged by PROFESSOR RICHARD G. MOULTON,
The University of Chicago.

I

The Lord sent a word into Jacob,
And it hath lighted upon Israel.
And all the people shall know, even Ephraim and the inhabitant
of Samaria, that say in pride and in stoutness of heart,
The bricks are fallen,
But we will build with hewn stone ;
The sycamores are cut down,
But we will change them into cedars.
Therefore the Lord shall set up on high against him the adversa-
ries of Rezin, and shall stir up his enemies ; the Syrians before,
and the Philistines behind ; and they shall devour Israel with
open mouth.
For all this his anger is not turned away,
But his hand is stretched out still !

II

Yet the people hath not turned unto him that smote them
Neither have they sought the Lord of hosts.
Therefore the Lord will cut off from Israel head and tail, palm-
branch and rush, in one day.
The ancient and the honorable man,
He is the head ;
And the prophet that teacheth lies,
He is the tail.
For they that lead this people cause them to err ; and they that
are led of them are destroyed. Therefore the Lord shall not

¹ Intended to illustrate the combination of prose with verse in the same stanza system. R. G. M.

rejoice over the young men, neither shall he have compassion on their fatherless and widows: for every one is profane and an evil-doer, and every mouth speaketh folly.

For all this his anger is not turned away,
But his hand is stretched out *still!*

III

For wickedness burneth as the fire;
It devoureth the briars and thorns:
yea, it kindleth in the thickets of the forest, and they roll upward in thick clouds of smoke. Through the wrath of the Lord of hosts is the land burnt up: the people also are as the fuel of fire; no man spareth his brother.

And one shall snatch on the right hand,
And be hungry;
And he shall eat on the left hand,
And they shall not be satisfied:
they shall eat every man the flesh of his own arm: Manasseh, Ephraim; and Ephraim, Manasseh: and they together shall be against Judah.

For all this his anger is not turned away,
But his hand is stretched out *STILL!*

IV

Woe unto them that decree unrighteous decrees,
And to the writers that write perverseness:
to turn aside the needy from judgment, and to take away the right of the poor of my people, that widows may be their spoil, and that they make the fatherless their prey!

And what will ye do in the day of visitation,
And in the desolation which shall come from far?
To whom will ye flee for help?

And where will ye leave your glory?
They shall only bow down under the prisoners, and shall fall under the slain.

For all this his anger is not turned away,
But his hand is stretched out *STILL!*

ADOLF HARNACK.

By JAMES HARDY ROPES,
Instructor in the Divinity School of Harvard University.

WHEN Professor Harnack left Marburg for Berlin, it meant a loss of nearly a hundred theological students to the smaller university; at Berlin he is heard by a third of the whole number of theological students in each of his two larger courses; no theological professor's name is oftener on people's lips in Germany; no one, perhaps, is so detested and so beloved. The career of so marked a man cannot be without interest to us, even if his name and his books were not already familiar in this country.

(Karl Gustav) Adolf Harnack was born May 7, 1851 in Dorpat, the seat of the University of the Russian German-speaking Baltic provinces. His father, Theodosius Harnack, was for many years professor of Practical Theology there, a strictly orthodox ("confessional") Lutheran theologian of wide learning, and the author of important contributions to church-history. The son studied theology at Dorpat from 1869 to 1872, and was chiefly influenced in his historical studies by Professor Moritz von Engelhardt (known chiefly by his book on Justin Martyr), an original scholar and a teacher of rare gifts, whose career was cut short by a comparatively early death. From Dorpat Harnack came to Leipzig, and having taken the necessary degree of Licentiate in Theology as well as the more ornamental one of Doctor of Philosophy, he began to lecture at the University on subjects connected with church-history. Even before he became privat-docent his brilliant gifts had won the attention of younger students, and he had held, while himself still a student, a little seminar on the Muratorian Canon, the first of the uninterrupted series of nearly fifty seminars from which some of his own most interesting writings and some of the best historical scholars of

the modern Church have proceeded. It is characteristic of the man, though partly due to the circumstances of his position, that he did not begin with the conventional courses on the first, second and third divisions of church-history, but devoted his lectures for years to special topics, such as New Testament Introduction, Gnosticism, the Apocalypse with introduction to the study of Jewish and Christian Apocalypses, Eusebius, Early Christian Literature, and the like. In 1876 he was made assistant professor ("professor extraordinarius") at Leipzig, and in 1879 was called to be full professor of church-history at Giessen. Such a call to a man of twenty-eight is unusual in Germany, but it was more than justified, for Harnack was perhaps the most attractive teacher in a group of men who made up in those years at provincial Giessen the most brilliant small theological faculty in Germany.

In Leipzig Harnack had published among other writings a dissertation on the Gnosticism of Apelles and, in coöperation with his countryman Oscar von Gebhardt and the Leipzig professor Theodor Zahn (with the latter of whom his friendly association was destined to be but short-lived), the excellent editions of the Apostolic Fathers, both with and without notes, which are now most commonly used in Germany. At Giessen, where he stayed seven years, he continued the literary activity which has made him one of the most productive of modern scholars. In this period was begun under his and Gebhardt's editorship the series of *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, a kind of irregular periodical containing only essays, sometimes of considerable length, in New Testament and patristic fields. This has now reached its fourteenth volume, and in it have appeared most of Harnack's smaller writings apart from book reviews, such as his investigation of the text of the Apologists, on the history of which he shed new light, even discovering and, as it were, introducing to us the worthy oriental bishop of the tenth century to whose copy we owe our knowledge of these writings. In it appeared, too, Harnack's edition of the *Didache* as well as the interesting fruit of the studies to which the discovery of that book gave

rise, and it has contained a long line of pieces by the editors and their friends and by Harnack's pupils, unequal, indeed, in value, yet including many important contributions to the investigation of Christian literature. The existence of such a series as this, with a definite field but not limited as to the periods of publication or the size of the several parts, has doubtless, by making possible the publication of such essays, stimulated their production; and it has been frankly and very successfully imitated by the *Texts and Studies* published by scholars at Cambridge, England.

At Giessen Harnack published (1885) the first volume of his great *History of Dogma*, completed in 1890 by the third volume. In this work his general theological position was made clear. By dogma Harnack means not Christian thought in general but, in a word, the authoritative doctrinal system of the fourth century, the rise of which out of the varied theological ideas of earlier times and its development until the Reformation he traces on a large scale. The rise of this dogma he believes to have been a process which so combined Christian faith and the methods of Greek thought, that, by steps often necessary and in themselves right, a system resulted which contains much that is not essential to Christianity and which protestant Christianity is not only free but bound to criticise. For the protestant Christian, dogma properly so-called cannot exist; if he holds the same views as the adherent of "dogmatic Christianity" it is because they are to him the necessary outcome or presupposition of faith in Christ, not because they stand in any creed of the Church. For Athanasius Harnack has hearty sympathy, and he leaves no doubt on which side he would have voted at the Council of Nicæa, but his attitude toward the Nicene creed is not that of one who finds it a satisfactory statement of Christian truth, but of one who holds that if the question had to be asked in those terms, the symbol gives in the interest of Christian faith the right answer. He has often protested that he does not think of the growth of Christian dogma in the early centuries as a process of degeneration, a fall from better to worse; the development was necessary, the mistake lay in setting up the result

as a dogma absolutely authoritative for all time. In fact Harnack on the whole criticises and disparages the Greek theology because it seems to him to have revolved about problems of physics and metaphysics, not of religion, and although Augustine laid the foundation of the Roman Catholic system of authority, he has yet taken him, perhaps of all theologians, for his hero, because, as he believes, Augustine shifted the center of theology from speculation to faith, and substituted for emancipation from finiteness redemption from the guilt of sin, as well as transformed occidental piety from a legalistic fear tempered by hope to aspiration and rest in a God of grace. Harnack holds himself a true son of Western Theology, and rejoices in his birthright.

At Giessen, too, Harnack translated Edwin Hatch's lectures on the *Organization of the Early Christian Church*. That Hatch through independent studies reached views of Christian history which even in details were so nearly identical with Harnack's is one of the interesting coincidences of scholarship. And it was at this time that he undertook for several years the editorship of the *Theologische Literaturzeitung*, founded by his friend and colleague Professor Emil Schürer, of which, since Schürer has resumed the responsible editorship, Harnack has still remained a nominal editor. The fact that Harnack's very numerous and sometimes very elaborate book reviews have appeared chiefly in this periodical, composed entirely of signed theological book reviews, has contributed not a little to make it the most important and influential sheet of its kind.

In 1886 Harnack was called to Marburg, a university somewhat larger than Giessen and in Prussia. But he stayed here only three years, and in 1889, in spite of violent opposition from certain conservative elements among the church authorities, he became professor at Berlin. At about this time he published his brilliant little book, *Das Neue Testament um das Jahr 200, Theodor Zahn's Geschichte des Neutestamentlichen Kanons geprüft*, a further step in the rather bitter quarrel between him and his former literary associate in which his criticism of Zahn's ascription of a certain commentary on the Gospels to the Second Century

writer, Theophilus of Antioch, had involved him. Scholars have almost all agreed that Harnack's position in this latter matter was in the main point correct, but the rancor of the celebrated and prolonged controversy between the two has not been a pleasant spectacle and disinterested observers have rejoiced of late to hope that at least in the range of pure scholarship better days are at hand.

The great enterprises of Harnack's residence at Berlin are the projected edition of the Greek Fathers down to Eusebius, under the auspices of the Berlin Royal Academy of Sciences and the great *History of Early Christian Literature to Eusebius*, of which the first volume has appeared and which it is earnestly hoped he may speedily find leisure to complete. In the Corpus of the Fathers, for which all the important manuscripts will be used to construct the best possible text, and, it is hoped, a considerable amount of hitherto unknown fragments will be recovered from catenae, Harnack is a leading spirit both by reason of his own personal fitness and because he stands in closer connection with the younger scholars whose services can be enlisted for the different sections of this vast work than perhaps any other German scholar. In the twenty-one years that he has taught he has trained in his seminar a whole generation, as it were, of students of history, some of whom, as Loofs, K. Müller, Krüger, are among the leading German theological professors, and have themselves sent out pupils who have in their turn already become independent scholars and been taught by their teachers to revere Harnack as a chief guide and inspirer. The short time in which this man's influence has pervaded German theological teaching is truly a marvel. A striking illustration of it may be seen in the prefaces to the second and third editions of Loofs's *Leitfaden zum Studium der Dogmengeschichte*.

Since Harnack's removal to Berlin his name has been much heard in the controversies about the Apostles' Creed in which the party antagonisms within the Prussian church have recently found expression. The complicated issues cannot be fully set forth here. Harnack, who did not exactly open the discussion, held that the Apostles' Creed contains at once too much and too

little to be a satisfactory test of the Christian faith of candidates for ordination, and urged that either qualifying introductory formulas be added or that a briefer symbol be devised which could be enforced with absolute rigor. The controversy led to the publication of endless pamphlets on both sides but to little practical result, and it now smoulders in its embers; the antagonisms are not reconciled.

In this as in other matters of ecclesiastical politics Harnack's theological friends are the so-called Ritschlians, although he and many others of the group have really rejected so much of the peculiarities of Ritschl that they can hardly with fairness be called by his name and do not call themselves by it. Still there is no other convenient designation for them, only Ritschl must not be taken as a wholly representative Ritschlian. What the movement really means as seen in a man like Harnack is, first, thorough freedom in the study of the New Testament and Church History, secondly, distrust of speculative theology, whether "orthodox" or "liberal," and, thirdly, a profound interest in practical Christianity as a religious life and not a system of knowledge. In the questions of New Testament Introduction Harnack is more conservative than many. He holds to the Pauline authorship of Colossians and Ephesians as well as of Philippians, puts the Gospels and Acts well back into the first century, and is never tired of pointing out the evidences of truthful tradition in the Gospel of John (which he ascribes to the Presbyter John), but he is prepared to admit the working of legendary tendencies to a degree which some of his opponents hold to be destructive of the faith. He would refuse to admit that the resurrection of our Lord in the flesh is a cardinal fact of Christianity, and urges with intense earnestness that the resurrection in which the Christian *must* believe, and which Paul meant, is a fact that no historical evidence, be it never so good, could ever prove to us, because it lies outside the field of human observation and in the sphere of faith. He would say of the doctrine of the Trinity, in the words of Augustine, that it has its place, "*non ut illud diceretur, sed ne taceretur*," and he ever urges that "we know *in part*," not merely "*a part*."

Yet one sometimes has the impression that he personally stands nearer to the ordinary view than he seems to declare, that he is so positive that to *require* certain things is wrong, that he allows it to be supposed that he does not hold them. Of one thing no one who comes in contact with him can doubt, namely, his profound personal piety, resting on faith in Jesus Christ as the Saviour of the world and built up by humbly learning of the Gospels and of Paul. "That Jesus Christ," are his words in a recent controversial pamphlet, "is *the Son of God*, or (the expression comes from the Greek theology, but the thought is evangelical) *the God-man*, in whom God is recognized and laid hold of: that is the foundation and corner-stone of Christianity." And that he works from this center is ever the profoundest secret of his power. Criticism of his views, his apologetics and his Christology, is perhaps easy from various points of view, but it is also easy to believe that the doubting German theological student who said that Harnack's lectures on church-history had given him once more the heart to *pray*, has had many fellows. In the current semester Harnack was to lecture once a week (a "publicum") on the Lord's Prayer, for students in all the faculties, and one can well believe that such lectures may have marked an epoch in not a few students' lives.

In person Harnack is rather tall, with a good figure, and pleasant manners. The intellectual intensity and alertness which comes out in the photographs of him characterizes the whole man. He lectures with little reference to his notes, and with a vivacity and picturesque grace of style that has a singular charm. A biographical sketch or a series of incidents is touched with living color as he speaks. In his seminar he has a group of older students who look up to him as a leader and are attached to him with a devotion such as few teachers know how to call out. To them he reveals something of the methods of his own studies, he suggests to them attractive problems for investigation, and guides and oversees their work. This is the place where he has created church historians by setting students at tasks which have turned out to be a life-work.

A many-sided man like Harnack is not be summed up in a

formula; his interests range from Goethe to foreign missions, from modern German politics to the textual criticism of the New Testament, from American theological events to the manuscripts of the less known Fathers. One of his latest pieces of work was an essay to show that a certain rescript of one of the Roman emperors relating to the Christians is probably almost wholly genuine, although the defense of it had been abandoned even by Roman Catholic theologians. He has sometimes gone too fast, for he has himself confessed that on occasion he has learned from his critics, but the permanent value of his services to the knowledge of Christian history and of early Christian literature and the abiding quality of his personal influence are assured.



MOSES.

—MICHAEL ANGELO.

MOSES: HIS AGE AND HIS WORK.

I.

By REV. PROFESSOR NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, PH.D.,
Colgate University.

The Thirteenth Century B.C. an age of transition.—Changes in Egypt, Babylonia, the Hittites.—Advance of new peoples.

THERE are no leaps in nature, and none in human history, but there are points of departure, critical periods, epochs. Energy proceeds from energy, life from life, thought from thought; no link is ever missing in the chain of cause and effect; the continuity cannot be broken. But there are moments when the plant bursts through the clod, the butterfly emerges from its chrysalis, the child is born, the new thought flashes forth from the mind of man. Tendencies long at work below the surface suddenly appear above ground. Crises come. Eras of steady and luxurious growth are followed by destructive glacial epochs in the history of man, as in the story of the planet. In the family of nations births and deaths are recorded, and the young life unfolds its powers, while the old declines and fades away. No stage of development is superfluous or unimportant. History has no dark ages except the unexplored. But sometimes an age is signalized by the retirement of many leading types of the past, and is crowded in return with prophetic events.

Such an epoch was the thirteenth century before our era, not less than the thirteenth Christian century. The ancient civilizations on the Nile and the Euphrates are forced into the background, and new forms of national life come forth from the Arabian desert, the Tigris and the northern shores of the Med-

iterranean. On the stage of history there is a shifting of the scenes. Exeunt Egypt, Babylon, Heth; enter Israel, Aram, Chaldæa, Assyria, Greece, Italy. These actors scarcely more than present themselves. Yet their characters are revealed with sufficient clearness. We readily recognize the masters of the coming age.

Egypt was old. The last period of power, with its splendid Syrian conquests by the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, had been ushered in by the expulsion of Hyksos in 1575. Beyond the foreign domination lay the glorious time of the User-tesens and the Amenemhats of the twelfth dynasty who in the middle of the third millennium conquered Nubia and built up Thebes. Five hundred years earlier the land had been in the hands of another foreign race, as Flinders Petrie has just discovered. Then the dynasties of the great pyramid builders. Not later than 4000 B. C. Senefru's miners searched for malachite and cut their monarch's likeness in the rocks of Wady Maghara on the sinaitic peninsula. Some centuries before this date a mighty king, Mena, according to later tradition, succeeded in uniting the kingdom of Upper and Lower Egypt. But before the one kingdom, there were two; before the two, many. What the Greeks called a *νόμος* the pyramid texts designated as a *nuît*, a dominion. It was the shadow of an ancient kingdom. The great achievements of the Egyptian race, the redemption of the land by the taming of the Nile, the embalming of the body to perpetuate the soul, and the enbalming of the thought in the symbolism of script, the reduction of the spirits to enneades with definite moral relations, were accomplished in the petty principalities between Buto and Nekhabit. A gigantic task even for a gifted people! In his last work¹ Maspero estimates that they laid the foundations of their civilization on the Nile about ten thousand years before our era. Whence then they came, we do not know. Their speech connects them unmistakably with the so-called Semitic nations, while their physical structure indicates a close relation to the other African peoples of the white race.

¹ *Histoire ancienne des peuples de l'Orient Classique. Les Origines: Egypte et Chaldée*, Paris, 1895, p. 44.

Babylonia was old. Under Kassite rule since 1717,² she had fairly maintained her position, and kings like Gandesh (1717-1702) Agumkakrими (1611-1572) Burnaburiash II. (1395-1366) and Kurigalzu II (1338-1284) had still known how to make her respected. But the supremacy that had left cuneiform script and Babylonian language as a legacy to Syria was no doubt founded by men like Hammurabi (2240-2186) and Ammisatana (2161-2148) and continued by the Shisku dynasty (2085-1718). Before Hammurabi's victorious campaigns the hegemony seems to have passed from Uru in the thirtieth century to Nippur in the twenty-eighth, Uruk in the twenty-seventh, Isin in the twenty-sixth, Uru again in the twenty-fifth, and Larsam in the twenty-fourth. The first half of the fourth millennium is marked by the rival kingdoms of Lagash and Agade, the first Sumerian, the second Semite, while the second half probably saw the ascendancy of the kingdom of Shumir and Akkad with Uru for capital, still largely Sumerian. In the thirty-fifth century Gudea, patisi of Lagash, fought with Anzan, brought cedars from Amanus, alabaster from Phœnicia and diorite from Sinai (Magan and Malukka). One of the first patisis of Lagash seems to have been contemporaneous with Shargan-sharali (3800 B. C.), and consequently the date of the first known king of Lagas, Gur Sar, about 4200 B. C. Shargan-sharali conquered the kingdoms of Babylon and Kish, one of whose kings, Alusharshid (*ca.* 3900 B. C.) has left several inscriptions. He also extended his power to Syria and Cyprus. When history opens the two races sit side by side. How long the Semite had been in the land, what his share had been of the work already done, who the Sumerian was and whence he had come, we cannot tell.

* This date is based on the assumption that Hilprecht is correct in regarding Nabukudur-usur I. as the founder of the Pashe dynasty (*Old Bab. Insc.* p. 41; *Assyriaca* I.) Tiele (*Z. A. x. 1.*) indicates his dissent chiefly on the ground that Tukulti-apal-esharra I. and Marduk-iddin-ahi were contemporaries, and so also Assuridan, who according to Tukulti-apal-esharra lived sixty years before him and Zamama-shum-iddin who began his reign four years before the end of the Kassite dynasty. But this does not necessarily force Bil-nadin-shum back to 1170. If Assuridan reigned 1154-1135 he could easily be both the contemporary of Marduk-apli-iddin I (1156-1144) and Zamama-shum-iddin (1143-1141) and sit upon the throne sixty years earlier than some date in the reign of Tukulti-apal-esharra I (*ca.* 1120-1090).



Ramessu II. The Pharaoh of the Oppression.

One thing is certain, whatever the Semite may have contributed, he did not invent the wedge-shaped characters. These may not even have originated with the Sumerians, but simply been borrowed by them with many a foreign term from an invading eastern mountain race, very much as they were afterwards adopted along with the Babylonian language by Syria. There is much in the sculptured faces of Lagash, and in the arts, science, customs and even religion of the Sumerians to suggest a relation to the Semites only one degree remoter than that of the Egyptians. The Gilgames epic points to Eridu and Dilmun in the Persian Gulf as early seats of Babylonian civilization. At the recent Congress of Orientalists at Geneva, Jules Oppert announced his conviction that the Babylonian astronomers could not have known certain astronomical periods, which as a matter of fact they did know, if they had not

observed the dog star Sirius, from the island of Dilmun on Thursday, April 29th, 11542 B. C. This date is not much higher than that assumed by Maspero and Chabas for the beginnings of the Egyptian civilization.

Even Heth was old. In the days of Ramessu II. (1348-1281) the Hittite power was quite the peer of Egypt. The Amarna correspondence reveals the advance of the nation up the Orontes. If W. Max Müller¹ is correct, the Hittites were settled north of the Amanus chain in the time of Dehutimose III. (1503-1449) Kappadokia and Northern Kilikia may well have been the center of their power. This, however, does not preclude the possibility of earlier conquests in Syria and on the Upper Euphrates. It is only with the eighteenth dynasty the Egyptian sources begin to yield information concerning these regions. Hilprecht reads the last sign on the boss of Tarkutimme, *tan*, which would make this Hittite king ruler of Mitani. But in the period covered by the Amarna letters Mitani is no longer Hittite. The seal inscription (391 Metropolitan, New York) "Uri-Sutah, son of Kashshu, servant of Burnaburiash scarcely shows as Sayce² thinks, that the Hyksos were Kashshites and Sutah a Kashshite god, in which case it would be likely to occur in the name of some Kashshite king; but it may indicate an earlier Hittite influence in some dependent province where Uri-Sutah was the servant of Burnaburiash. An earlier date for the famous silver boss would also suggest a higher age for the other Hittite inscriptions. The fact that Panamu, of Yaudi, writes the Aramaic letters has already made this probable for the Marash and Hamath inscriptions; and those of Karabel, Giaurkalesoi, Nymphalon, Boghas, Keui, and Eyük can scarcely be younger than the boss. At the entrance of the pyramid of Usertasen II. (2682-2660) at Kahun in the Fayum there was a settlement during the twelfth dynasty. Here pieces of clay tablets have been found with Cypriote inscriptions. But the Cypriote hieroglyphics are only a modification of the Hittite brought to Cyprus from the southern shores of Asia Minor, which consequently were already then permeated with Hittite culture. Another

¹ Asien und Europa nach altägyptischen Denkmälern, 1893, p 319 ff.

² Academy, September 7, 1893.

source, the "Tablet of Omens," whose general historic accuracy has been so finely vindicated by the results of the American expedition, carries us over a thousand years further back by recording the campaign of Shargansharali (3800 B. C.) against the king of Hattu.

These nations, hoary with age, had contributed much to the unfolding of human life, both in the establishment of juster, nobler, truer social relations, and in the realization of holier, kindlier, more intelligent relations to the deity. In regard to religion it is sufficient to mention the tendencies to monotheism, at Heliopolis and Hermopolis, the actual monolatry of Khu-en-Aten, the ethical character given to the primeval myths at Kutha and Uruk, the tenderer aspects of the divine life brought out in the mother-goddess cult of Kadesh and of Karkamish. Yet even their highest achievements were insufficient to satisfy the deeper cravings of the age. Hence the rushing tide of new life.

It had been preparing. In the desert, the elements that now entered into the composition of the Israelitish, Aramæan and Chaldæan nations had been living a long life. On the Tigris *patisis*, or priest kings, had reigned as early as in the eighteenth century, if Jensen is right,¹ already in the twenty-sixth. The Mycenæan civilization flourished in the time of Amenhotep III. (1437-1401), as an inscription shows, and was centuries old then. Before it lay the Trojan age reaching back from 2000 B. C. at least for a millennium. And the Etruscan nations had not developed in a day.

But it was in the eventful thirteenth century that Moses delivered and organized Israel and brought them into the "fields of Moab;" that the Suti fought with Pudu ilu (1281-1271) and other Aramæan tribes dispossessed the Hittites in Mesopotamia and Syria; that the Chaldæans wedged their way from the shores of the Persian Gulf into Babylonia; and Shulmanasharid I. (1250-1220) made his western expedition extending even to the "land of Mutsri," in my judgment here as elsewhere Egypt counted from the Wady el Aris, that his son, Tukulti Ninib (1219-1202) made an end, not to the independence of Babylon, but to its posi-

¹ Z. A. IX., I., p. 81.

tion as a world power; that the Philistines (Pulsta) came from Crete, and, repelled by Ramessu III. (1240-1208) established themselves in the land named after them, that the Danæans (Danauna) of Argos, the Ionians (Yewanin) and the Achæans, (Akaiwashi) fell upon Egypt and the Tyrrhenians—Etruscans, (Tursha) with the kindred Sicilians (Shikilu), and Sardinians (Shardanu) came in contact with the southwestern shores of the Mediterranean (ca. 1280-1230).

The great factors in the life of the human race that these new names suggest did not come with a bound. We do not see at once the monotheism of Israel's prophets, the Aramaic a *lingua franca*, the Chaldæans forming a colossal empire, the Assyrian rod on the back of deported populations, the human form divine stepping forth from the marble at the bidding of Hellenic thought, the Roman structure of society cemented by diplomacy. Yet a glance suffices to discern in them the potency and promise of new developments in religion, commerce, empire, art and law. The seer of Mount Sinai, the tradesman in a Hittite town, the proud and independent sheik of the marshlands, the monarch marching to the western sea, the noble-visaged soldier with helmet, shield and lance, the meddling visitor in the Delta, these are types and prophecies. The contemporaries knew it not. How could they dream that what they played was only a prelude? A mysterious silence soon fell on the world. Israel hidden in the land of the Amorites; Mesopotamia and Babylon opening their gates to the desert tribes and closing them again; Assyria resting as if conscious of a busy day to come; Greece drawn up within herself developing in her own matchless way germs fructified by foreign contact; Italy learning at home to rule herself that she may rule the world! No ear could yet have heard across the centuries the strains of the still grander music.

Even beyond the circle of this Mediterranean world, where nations lived whose early history is now becoming known to us, this century seems to have been marked by events of great importance. Jacob has well shown (Z.D.M.G. XLIX:2) that certain passages in Rig Veda betray the memory of an earlier reckon-

ing of the year, and that this cannot have been fixed elsewhere than in India or later than 4500 B. C. Bühler's arguments also prove a far higher antiquity for the Veda than has been supposed. Nevertheless Oldenberg, Max Müller and Whitney probably remain correct in assuming that the thirteenth century was characterized by new impulses in the religious life and new movements in the political relations of India. Terrien de Lacouperie long contended that the Chinese mode of writing was borrowed from the Sumero-Akkadians in the fourth or fifth millennium. Carlos de Harlez has proved the utter improbability of this hypothesis, but at the same time has traced back the authentic history of China to the fourth millennium, and by making probable an indigenous origin of the system of writing has necessitated the assumption of a far longer period of development. However that may have been, the thirteenth century seems to have witnessed the first Chinese settlements on Corea, and thus the building of that bridge over which so much of this ancient civilization was to pass over into Japan. Concerning our own Aryan ancestors in this age, history is as yet silent.

Against the background of this age the majestic figure of one of history's greatest personalities stands out in bold relief.

(Concluded in February number.)

OUTLINE TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

By WILLIAM R. HARPER,
The University of Chicago

I. PROPHECY, ITS CONTENTS AND DEFINITION; LITERATURE.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

1. A life: Samuel.¹

- 1) *The Times*, from the religious, the moral, the political and the prophetic points of view.
- 2) *The Facts*: Samuel's call; the gathering at Mizpeh; establishment of the monarchy; appointment of Saul; rebuke and rejection of Saul; relation to David; farewell words; appearance after death; the prophetic schools.
- 3) *The Teachings*: Faith; patience; integrity; self-sacrifice; religious activity; punishment for sin; obedience rather than sacrifice; the sovereignty of God; the after-life; special training.

2. An Event: the invasion of Sennacherib.²

- 1) *The Times*, from the religious, the moral, the political and the prophetic points of view.
- 2) *The Details*: Approach of the Assyrian army; the preaching of Isaiah; invasion of the outlying cities;

¹Jos., *Ant.*, v. 10, 1-4; Ewald, *The History of Israel*, II., 419-30; Wjlbeforce, *Heroes of Hebrew History*, 198-228; Reuss, *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften*, 135-8; Kirkpatrick, *The first book of Samuel* (Cambridge Bible), 29-34; Hervey, *Samuel*, 242 f (*Bible Comm.*); R. P. Smith, 1 *Samuel*, i.-ix (*Pulpit Comm.*); Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, II., 94-97; Deane, *Samuel and Saul, their lives and times*.

²Strachey, *Jewish History and Politics*, 302-19; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 317-53 and 434-5. *KAT*², 285-332, esp. 304-17; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I., 603-24. *KB II*, 92; Pinches, *JRAS*, Oct. 1887, 678; Blake, *How to read Isaiah*², 136 ff.; Kittel, *Geschichte Der Hebräer* II., 203 and 305-14; Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, III., 79-93; Tiele, *Geschichte*, 289 ff., 314 ff; Herodotus, II., 141; Rawlinson, *Anc. Mons.*, II., 165; Geo. Smith, *Hist. of Sennacherib*, 87; Driver, *Isaiah*, 55-83.

yielding of Hezekiah; change of attitude of the Assyrian king; visit of the Assyrian embassy; the preaching of Isaiah; the outcome; the songs of praise.

- 3) *The Teachings*: Power of Jehovah; his regard for Judah; the fulfilment of promises; his attitude toward sin; the outlook for the future; the divine mission of the prophet; of materialism; justice.

3. Stories from the Past Concerning Joseph and His Brethren.¹

- 1) *The Times*: The division of the kingdom; period of Elijah and Elisha; condition of the people; the need of religious instruction; written prophecy.
- 2) *The Stories*: Joseph and his brethren; Joseph and Pharaoh; Joseph and his father's family; the differences; the resemblances; the stories, as oral tradition; the stories combined.
- 3) *The Teachings*: The punishment of the evil-doer; the prosperity and honor of the upright; the overruling providence of God; Jehovah's special interest in Israel's ancestors.

4. Stories from the Past Concerning David.²

- 1) *The Times*: The prophetic mission; the prophet's independence; the evil reigns of the kings; the tendency of the times.
- 2) *The Stories*: David and Bathsheba; Nathan and David; David and Absalom; the king's flight; the death of Absalom; the remaining days of his life.
- 3) *The Teaching*: The heinousness of sin; the king himself punished; the one loved by God afflicted; the
 - certainty, therefore, of punishment for sin.

¹ Wilberforce, *Heroes of Hebrew Hist.*, 51-91; Kuenen, *The Hexateuch*, 67 f., 230 f., 327 ff.; Dillmann, *Die Genesis*⁵, esp. 385 f., and 396 ff.; Delitzsch, *Commentar über die Genesis*, 437-46 and 452-91; Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, I., 186-91; Niebuhr, *Geschichte des Ebräischen Zeitalters*, I., 170-3; Hanna and Norris, *The Patriarchs*, 141-69; Bacon, *The Genesis of Genesis*, in loc.; Kalisch, *Genesis*, in loc.

² Maurice, *The Prophets and Kings of the Old Testament*, 35-70; Lowrie, *The Life of David*; Wilberforce, *Heroes of Heb. History*, 229-63; MacLaren, *The Life of David*; Reuss, *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften*, 173-89; Kirkpatrick, *The First Book of Samuel*, 38-41; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I., esp. 295-9; Kittel, *Geschichte der Hebräer*, II., 104-15 and 120-52; Deane, *David: His Life and Times*.

5. A Sermon from the Present; Isaiah's Arraignment (Chap. I.).¹

1) *The Times*: The people have apostatized; the princes (vs. 4); the land is laid waste by strangers (vs. 7); the worship is formal and an abomination; the princes are guilty of murder (vs. 15), of corruption and oppression (vs. 23). [Ahaz (?); Hezekiah (?)]

2) *The Sermon*:

Vss. 1-9. The charge: Israel's sins; her rottenness; her utter ruin, but for the interposition of Jehovah.

Vss. 10-17. The defense, based upon the ground of maintenance of worship, refuted: Israel's worship formal and hateful; her prayers unendurable; righteousness is demanded.

Vss. 18-23. An opportunity for reconciliation,—how wretched and wicked the condition of Israel.

Vss. 24-30. The punishment which impends, if the offer is rejected; the purification; the remnant.

3) *The Purpose*: To convict the people of their sins; to change their false conceptions of life; to persuade them to become obedient to the will of Jehovah; to terrify them, by announcement of judgment, into a better kind of life.

6. A Sermon from the Present, Jeremiah's Rebuke (Chap. XXXV.).²

1) *The Circumstances*: Fourth year of Jehoiakim (B. C. 604(?)); Nebuchadrezzar approaching; people fleeing to city; among others the Rechabites; a test of their obedience to the laws of their fathers (vss. 1-11).

2) *The Sermon* (vss. 14-19): The Rechabites observe faithfully a human command. Israel has continually disobeyed the command of Jehovah. Israel shall suffer the divine judgment. The Rechabites shall receive the reward of their fidelity.

¹ Geo. A. Smith, *Expositor's Bible*, in loc.; Driver, *Isaiah*, 19; Cheyne, Nægelsbach (Lange), Delitzsch, in loc.

² Blayney, *Jeremiah and Lamentations*², in loc.; Keil, *The Prophecies of Jeremiah*, II., in loc.; Cheyne, *Jeremiah; his life and times*, in loc.; Ball, *The Expositor's Bible*, in loc.; Streane, *Jeremiah (Cambridge Bible)*, in loc.

- 3) *The Purpose*: To convict the people of their ingratitude toward God; to persuade them to become obedient to his commands; to avert, if possible, the impending calamity.

7. Predictions in the Realm of the Immediate Future.

- 1) *Jonah's Prediction concerning Nineveh* (Jon. 1).¹
 - (a) the circumstances; (b) the statement; (c) the result; (d) the purpose of God in directing the utterance; (e) the feelings of the prophet in view of the success of his preaching.
- 2) *Jeremiah and Hananiah concerning the return from Babylon* (Jer. XXVIII.).²
 - (a) The circumstances (vs. 1); (b) Hananiah's prediction (vss. 2-4); (c) Jeremiah's characterization of the true prophet (vss. 5-9); (d) the prediction repeated (vss. 10, 11); (e) the message to Jeremiah (vss. 12-14); (f) rebuke of the false prophet (vss. 15-17); (g) inferences from the narrative.
- 3) *Isaiah and the invasion of Sennacherib*.³
 - (a) Chap. 29 (one year before invasion): within one year, an army (1-5); but it shall be scattered (6-8); you are blind, your priests err, you are perverse (9-16); after a little, the nation will be transformed, no more shame (17-24).
 - (b) Chaps. 14 : 24-27 ; 17 : 12-14 (after Sennacherib has come south): Assyria shall be broken ; Assyria shall perish suddenly.
 - (c) Chap. 37 : 1-7 (after the speech of the Assyrian officer): the assurance given of Israel's stability, and of the Assyrian's overthrow.
 - (d) Chap. 37 : 8-35 (upon the return of the Assyrian officer): another message (10-13); Hezekiah's

¹ Kalisch, *Bible Studies*, Part II.; Ewald, *Old Testament Prophets*, Vol. V.; Kennedy, *The Book of Jonah*; Perowne, *The Book of Jonah* (*Cambridge Bible*).

² See references given above on Jeremiah XXXV.

³ See references given above on Sennacherib's invasion and the various commentaries.

prayer (14-20); Isaiah's last message (21-29; 30-32: 33-35).

(e) The prophet's purpose in all these sermons.

8. Predictions in the realm of a more remote future.

1. *Amos' predictions of punishment and restoration.*¹

1) *The situation:* Jeroboam II.

2) *The predictions.*

(a) The series of visions: locusts (7:1-3); fire (7:4-6); plumb-line (7:7-9); basket of ripe fruit (8:1-3); the broken altar (9:1).

(b) The blessings which are to follow; David's hut rebuilt (9:11, 12); prosperity (9:13); return from captivity (9:14); permanence in their land (9:15).

3) *The purpose of the predictions.*

2. *Zechariah's prediction of Zion's King* (9:9-12).²

1) *The context:* The judgment upon Tyre and Philistia, the protection of Zion (9:1-8).

2) *The prediction:* Zion's King shall come in peace (9), implements of war shall be destroyed, and in peace he shall rule the world (10), captives shall be set free (11).

3) *The purpose and meaning of the prediction.*

II. THE WORDS FOR "PROPHET AND PROPHECY."³

1. The ordinary word for "prophet."

1) Its meaning, usage in the cognate languages.

2) Its form and usage in Hebrew.

3) The primitive meaning and development in Hebrew.

2. The words translated "see," "seer," "vision."

1) Earlier significance and usage.

2) Later significance and usage.

¹Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, 224 f.; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 160 f.; Mitchell *in loc.*; Baur, *in loc.*

²Wright, *Zechariah, in loc.*; Lowe, *Zechariah, in loc.*; Perowne, *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi (Cambridge Bible)*; Rubinkam, *Zechariah, in loc.*

³Kuenen, *The Prophets*, 49; Oehler, *O. T. Theology*, 363 ff.; Hoffmann, *ZAW* III., 92 f.; W. R. Smith, *Prophets*, 389 f.; W. R. Smith, *Encyc. Brit.*, XIX, 836-45; Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, 11 ff.; Briggs' *Messianic Prophecy*, 14 ff.; Schultz, *O. T. Theology*, I., 264 ff.; Keil, on Gen. 20:7; Heb. Lexicons on the particular words

3. The word translated "declaration," "oracle," "saying."
4. The word translated "burden."
5. The phrase "And God said."

III. THE CONTENTS OF PROPHECY.

1. Enacted history, lives and events, or living prophecy.
2. Stories of the past, or experience prophecy.
3. Descriptions of the present, or descriptive prophecy.
4. Pictures of the future, or predictive prophecy.

IV. DEFINITION OF PROPHECY.

1. "Prediction, by means of divine revelation, of any occurrence which was contingent, and therefore not to be foreknown by human wisdom."
2. "Speaking of individuals under the influence of the Spirit of God."
3. "Power of expressing the will of the Word of God."
4. "Religious Instruction."
5. "Illustration and declaration of the principles of divine government."

V. OTHER OLD TESTAMENT MATERIAL.

1. The Element of "Legislation."¹
 - 1) Contents and scope.
 - 2) Authors.
 - 3) History.
 - 4) Points of difference, as compared with "Prophecy."
- 2 The element of "Wisdom" or "Philosophy."²
 - 1) Contents and scope.
 - 2) Authors.
 - 3) History.
 - 4) Points of difference, as compared with "Prophecy."

VI. LITERATURE ON "PROPHECY."

[This list contains only those works which are supposed to be most accessible.]

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Kuenen, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, 1877.

Reuss, *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften alten Testaments*, 1881.

W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, 1882.

Redford, *Prophecy, its nature and evidence*, 1882.

Green, *Moses and the Prophets*, 1883.

¹ Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Joshua*², 591-690; Wellhausen, *The History of Israel*; Bissell, *Origin and Structure of the Pentateuch*; Driver, *Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament*; Green, *Moses and the Prophets*.

² Cheyne, *Job and Solomon*, 117-24; Root, *Old and New Test. Student*, July, 1889, 24-7; Driver, *Introduction*, 368 ff.; Davidson, *Expositor*, May 1880, 321 f.; Davidson, *Proverbs*, *Encyc. Brit.*, XIX, 904-9.

- Orelli, *Old Testament Prophecy*, 1885.
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 R. Payne Smith, *Prophecy, a preparation for Christ*, 1871.
 Hengstenberg, *Christology of the O. T.*³ 4 vols., 1872-5.
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 Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, 1876.
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 Newton, *Dissertations on the Prophecies*, revised by W. S. Dobson, 1883.
 Pember, *The great prophecies concerning Gentiles, Jews, and the Church of God*, 1881.
 Kellogg, *The Jews, or Prediction and Fulfilment*, 1883.
 Keith, *Evidence of the truth of the Christian Religion derived from the literal fulfilment of prophecy*.

Aids to Bible Readers.¹

THE EPISTLES OF THE IMPRISONMENT.

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The letter to the Philippians ; the city of Philippi ; the date of the letter ; repeated communication between Paul and the Philippians ; occasion of this letter ; its purpose and character ; analysis.—The letters to Colossæ ; Colossians and Philemon sent together ; location of Colossæ ; origin of its Christian community ; Onesimus and letter to Philemon ; occasion of Colossians ; analysis.—The letter to the Ephesians ; Ephesus and the church there ; this letter not to the Ephesians exclusively ; written at the same time as Colossians ; purpose of the letter ; analysis.

THE LETTER TO THE PHILIPPIANS.

THE two Macedonian cities to which the apostle Paul wrote letters that are still in existence, are both associated in history and by their names with Philip of Macedon. Thessalonica was named by Cassander for his wife, who had herself been named Thessalonica by her father Philip, in commemoration of the victory which he gained over the Thessalians. Philippi was the name which Philip himself gave to the city which he built upon the site of the ancient Krenides. Most students of ancient history will think of it chiefly as the site of the battle in which Brutus and Cassius were defeated by Octavian and Antony, and the Republic of Rome finally overthrown.

The earliest mention of this city in the New Testament is in 1 Thess. 2:2, where Paul says, "having suffered before and been shamefully entreated, as ye know, at Philippi, we waxed bold in our God to speak unto you the gospel of God." Of the experiences at Philippi on his first journey through Macedonia, thus briefly referred to by the apostle, we have a full account in Acts, chap. 16. Indeed, Luke himself was doubtless an eyewitness of these events, as is implied in his use of the pronoun "we" in vss. 11-18.

The letter to the Philippians which we have in our New Testament

¹ Under this head will be published from month to month articles intended to furnish help in the intelligent *reading* of the books of the Bible *as books*. They will aim to present not so much fresh results of critical investigation as well-established and generally recognized conclusions.

was written from Rome when Paul was a prisoner there (Phil. 1:13-17; 4:22). But since as late as when Paul wrote to the Romans he had not yet seen the capital city, it is evident that between the founding of the Philippian church, and the writing of our Philippian letters there lie not only all the labors of which Acts 17:1-20:3, and the letters to the Thessalonians, Galatians, Corinthians and Romans tell us, but the voyage to Rome as well. The long cherished hope of seeing Rome (Rom. 15:22-30) has at length been realized, so far at least as the arrival at Rome is concerned. How he reached there Acts, chaps. 20-28, tell us.

But this long interval between the visit to Philippi mentioned in 1 Thess. 2:2 and the writing of the letter before us, was by no means one of silence on his part or theirs. Twice, at least, while he was still in Macedonia, the Philippians sent him money to Thessalonica (Phil. 4:16) and still again when he passed beyond Macedonia, and was laboring in Corinth (Phil. 4:15; 2 Cor. 11:9). Is it not altogether probable that on each of these occasions Paul sent back some word, perhaps a brief letter at least, in acknowledgment of these gifts? This seems particularly probable in the case of the gift sent to Corinth, since we know that at about this time he sent a letter into Macedonia, our First Thessalonians. But it was not by letters only that communication had been kept up between the apostle and the church. Twice, it seems, he had visited them. When he left Ephesus after writing First Corinthians, he came into Macedonia (2 Cor. 7:5 ff), and doubtless to Philippi, since both the convenience of following the main roads of travel and the desire to see the brethren whose relations to him had been so peculiarly close would lead him thither. Again, on returning from Corinth, on his way to Jerusalem for the last time, he stopped at Philippi (Acts 20:6). Coming still nearer to the time of the writing of the letter—we learn that since Paul's arrival in Rome the Philippians have sent Epaphroditus to him with a gift, and that word has been carried back to Philippi of the sickness of Epaphroditus at Rome (Phil. 2:25 ff; 4:10 ff). During all these years, therefore, Paul has been well informed concerning the affairs of his brethren in Philippi. His relations to them have been, moreover, especially intimate and friendly. The freedom with which he accepted money from them, while refusing it from the Thessalonians (1 Thess. 2:9; 2 Thess. 3:8), and the Corinthians (2 Cor. 11:7-9; concerning the Ephesians see Acts 20:34), testifies to his perfect confidence in them; and the silence of this letter concerning any serious error of

doctrine or life indicates that the church had been exceptionally free from those things which had made the "care of all the churches" such a burden of anxiety and responsibility to the apostle.

The special occasion of this particular letter—perhaps the fourth that Paul wrote the Philippians—is evidently furnished by the gift which Epaphroditus brought, and by the fact that he, now recovered from his illness, is about to return to Philippi (4:10-18; 2:25-30). The gift itself Paul may already have acknowledged, since he could probably have done so by the same messenger who carried to Philippi the news of the illness of Epaphroditus. But now that Epaphroditus is about to return he seizes the opportunity to tell the Philippians of his present situation, hopes and fears, to exhort and warn and encourage them, and in closing, once more to express his gratitude for their thoughtful remembrance of him and supply of his need. A definitely marked purpose controlling the whole letter is scarcely discernible. The dangers against which he warns are those which proceed from the judaizers, and from those who, going to the other extreme, perverted the Pauline doctrine of the sufficiency of faith either into an easy contentment with their present attainments, or into a still grosser justification of the indulgence of sin (chap 3). But this whole chapter was apparently introduced as an after-thought, and of the errorists to which it refers, we gain the impression that only those who too easily counted themselves perfect (3:15) are represented among the Philippians themselves; the judaizers and the sensualists constitute as yet only a danger from without. Aside from this, the only fault which is mentioned in such a way as to suggest that it existed among the Philippians is that of pride and factiousness (2:1-11; 4:2, 3), and even this is so lightly touched upon as to imply that it was not present to a serious degree. In the main the letter is simply the natural outpouring of the apostle's heart to a church with which he has always had the pleasantest relations, and with which he has little fault to find.

But if any one hastily concludes that a letter written thus without sharply defined and single purpose is necessarily tame and commonplace, he will greatly err. Whether Paul ever wrote a dull and uninteresting letter we do not surely know. Certain it is that the letter which Epaphroditus carried back to Philippi was not of that character. Interesting glimpses into the apostle's situation and experiences in Rome, and a still more interesting revelation of some of his deepest thoughts concerning Christ, warm personal affection and lofty religious aspiration, flashes of indignation against the mischief makers, and

tears of grief over those who pervert the doctrine of Christ, combine to make a letter of surpassing charm and interest. Were it the only Pauline letter extant we should still be able to form a fairly true picture of Paul, and a fairly just conception of what he believed and what he stood for. For its information concerning the life of the apostle and its light upon his character, for its contribution to a knowledge of his doctrinal conception of Christianity, and for its more general testimony to the history of the Apostolic Age, the letter will richly repay careful study. The following outline will show its course of thought :

| | |
|--|-----------|
| I. INTRODUCTION. | 1:1-11 |
| 1. Salutation. | 1:1, 2 |
| 2. Thanksgiving and prayer for the Philippians. | 1:3-11 |
| II. ACCOUNT OF HIS OWN AFFAIRS AND EXPECTATIONS. | 1:12-26 |
| III. EXHORTATIONS TO THE PHILIPPIANS. | 1:27—2:18 |
| 1. (Closely connected with II.) To live worthily, even in the midst of persecutions. | 1:27-30 |
| 2. To live in unity and love, enforced by the example of Christ. | 2:1-11 |
| 3. In general, to live a worthy Christian life. | 2:12-18 |
| IV. CONCERNING TIMOTHY AND EPAPHRODITUS, and Paul's own hope to come to Philippi. | 2:19-30 |
| [Concluding exhortations begun, but immediately broken off. | 3:1] |
| V. WARNING AGAINST THE ERROR OF THE JUDAIZERS AND AGAINST THE OPPOSITE ERROR OF ANTINOMIANISM. | 3:2—4:1 |
| 1. Against the Judaizers, enforced by his own experience and example. | 3:2-11 |
| 2. Disclaimer of the (Antinomian) error that the beginning of salvation is also its end. | 3:12-16 |
| 3. Against a self-indulgent (Antinomian) manner of life. | 3:17-21 |
| 4. Concluding exhortation to stand fast in the Lord. | 4:1 |
| VI. VARIOUS EXHORTATIONS. | 4:2-9 |
| 1. To Christian unity. | 4:2, 3 |
| 2. To Christian joy and trust. | 4:4-7 |
| 3. To all virtue. | 4:8, 9 |
| VII. THANKS FOR THE GIFT OF THE PHILIPPIANS. | 4:10-20 |
| VIII. CONCLUSION: Salutations and benediction. | 4:21-23 |

THE LETTERS TO COLOSSÆ.

Several circumstances combine to indicate that the letter to Philemon and that to the Colossians were sent at the same time and to the same place. Thus both were written when Paul was a prisoner (Philem.

1:1; Col. 4:10, 18); in both he joins the name of "Timothy the brother" with his own in the salutation; in both he sends the salutations of Aristarchus, Mark, Epaphras, Luke, and Demas (Philem. 23; Col. 4:10-14); in the letter to Philemon, Archippus is joined with Philemon in the address, and Col. 4:17 it is implied that he is in Colossæ; and, what is most conclusive, Onesimus accompanies both letters, and is distinctly designated as a Colossian (Philem. 10; Col. 4:9). We have, therefore, in this case two letters to Colossæ, one to the whole Christian community, the other to a single man on private business.

Where was Colossæ, and what were Paul's relations to the Colossians? Of the four rivers of some importance which empty into the Ægean Sea from Asia Minor, the southernmost is the Mæander, near the mouth of which lies Miletus. Some ninety miles from the sea it receives the waters of its tributary, the Lycus. On the banks of the Lycus, twenty miles or so from its junction with the Mæander, in the uplands of the province of Asia, lay the ancient Phrygian city of Colossæ. Its neighbors, Laodicea and Hierapolis, are both mentioned in Paul's letter to the Colossians (2:1; 4:13, 15). Had Paul not been constrained to change the plan which he had formed for the second missionary journey (Acts 16:6) he would probably have visited all these cities at that time; for one of the main roads from Pisidian Antioch to Ephesus ran through the Lycus Valley. But though he neither then nor later labored personally in these cities (Col. 2:1), it was doubtless through the indirect influence of his work in Ephesus that the Colossian church was founded (Acts 19:10, 26). Among the members of this Christian community were Archippus, who had somewhere, probably in Ephesus, been associated with Paul in Christian service (Col. 4:18; Philem. 1); Epaphras, who seems to have been chiefly instrumental in preaching the gospel in Colossæ (Col. 4:12; 1:6, 7); and Philemon, at whose house the Christians or a portion of them were accustomed to assemble (Philem. 1). Probably all of these had been converted under Paul's influence (Col. 1:7; Philem. 2, 19), perhaps at Ephesus.

The letter to Philemon tells plainly the story of its occasion. Onesimus, a runaway slave of Philemon, had drifted to the city of Paul's imprisonment, Cæsarea, or more probably Rome, and coming under the apostle's influence was converted. Paul sends him back to his master, but with him a letter to Philemon, in which, with infinite tact and most gracious courtesy, he bids Philemon receive the runaway

no longer as a slave, but as a brother beloved. Nothing could more beautifully illustrate the skill and gentleness of Paul, or the way in which the principles of Christianity softened and mollified those harsh institutions of ancient life for the full abolition of which the time had not yet come.

The occasion of the letter to the Colossians also appears, though somewhat less clearly than in the case of that to Philemon, in the letter itself. Epaphras had brought Paul word of "the love in the Spirit" of the Colossians (1:8). But from the same source, or from some other, Paul had evidently learned of certain men who had been disseminating false teaching among them (2:8 ff). This leaven of false teaching must have been in part Jewish and legalistic, as the reference to circumcision, new moons and Sabbath days (2:11, 16) implies, yet was characterized also by philosophical speculation (2:8), the worship of angels (2:18), and asceticism (2:20-23). Whether these new elements were also of Jewish origin, or whether they reveal the influence of Greek thinking is not easy to determine. But whatever the source of this new teaching, it is evident that the tendency was to rob Christ of his preëminent place as the perfect revelation of God, the all-sufficient Saviour, the head of the church. To check these errors before they assume serious dimensions is plainly the chief purpose of the letter. The first chapter emphasizes the corrective truths, setting forth the exalted nature and office of Christ and the sufficiency of his work, and the latter part of the letter adds practical exhortations; but it is the second chapter that most clearly reflects the situation which the letter is intended to meet, and furnishes the key for the understanding of the whole. The plan of the letter is somewhat as follows:

I. SALUTATION.

1:1, 2

II. PERSONAL PORTION OF THE LETTER: The apostle's relation to his readers, his thanksgiving, prayer, sufferings for them, and deep interest in them, with which is also blended exalted description of the office and nature of Christ, and of salvation in him.

1:3—2:5

1. The thanksgiving for the faith and love of his readers.

1:3-8

2. Prayer for them, passing into description of Christ according to his nature and office.

1:9-23

3. The apostle's sufferings on their behalf and his office as a minister of the gospel.

1:24-29

4. His deep interest in his readers and other Christians not personally known to him.

2:1-5

| | |
|---|------------|
| III. DOCTRINAL PORTION OF THE LETTER. Warning against the false teachers who, by philosophy, would lead them from Christ. | 2: 6-23 |
| IV. HORTATORY PORTION OF THE LETTER. | 3: 1-4: 6 |
| 1. Exhortation to live a heavenly life on earth. | 3: 1-4 |
| 2. To put away the earthly deeds of the unrenewed nature. | 3: 5-11 |
| 3. To put on the things which belong to God. | 3: 12-17 |
| 4. Respecting domestic relations. | 3: 18-4: 1 |
| 5. Prayer and other Christian duties. | 4: 2-6 |
| V. CONCLUSION. | 4: 7-18 |
| 1. Concerning Tychicus and Onesimus. | 4: 7-9 |
| 2. Salutations from those with him. | 4: 10-14 |
| 3. Salutations to brethren at Colossæ and instructions concerning the reading of the letter. | 4: 15-17 |
| 4. Signature and benediction. | 4: 18 |

THE LETTER TO THE EPHESIANS.

At the mouth of the river Cayster, on the western coast of Asia Minor, almost directly across the Ægean Sea from Corinth, was the ancient city of Ephesus. Admirably situated for commerce, both by sea and by land, the capital of the Roman province of Asia, the seat of the world-famous Temple of Diana, it was next to Rome itself the most important city in which Christianity was planted in the life-time of Paul.

The letters of Paul are singularly silent concerning his work in Ephesus. Aside from two passing allusions to it in 1 Cor. (15: 32; 16: 8) he never mentions it in any letter preceding the one now before us. What we know of the early history of the church we learn from the book of Acts. Though there were Christians in Ephesus before Paul entered upon his labors there on his third missionary journey, yet it was doubtless due chiefly to these labors that there grew up in this great city a strong Christian church, and that Christianity obtained a strong foothold in the province of Asia (Acts, chap. 19 and 20: 17-35).

But was the letter known as the Epistle to the Ephesians really addressed to this church in Ephesus with which Paul lived and labored for more than two years? Most of the manuscripts, indeed, contain the words "at Ephesus" in 1: 1. Yet three of the most trustworthy manuscripts omit these words, and there is other ancient evidence against them. This external evidence and the absence of personal references and of that tone of intimacy which so strongly characterizes all the letters of the apostle to the churches with which he had labored,

has led many to conclude, probably rightly, that it was a circular letter addressed to a group of churches with most of which Paul had no personal acquaintance. It is not, however, necessary to exclude Ephesus from the list of churches addressed, since a circular letter must evidently be written upon the plane, so to speak, upon which all the churches addressed stand in common.

The fact that the same messenger, Tychicus, accompanied both this letter and that to the Colossians, and is in both commended in almost identical words (Col. 4:7, 8; Eph. 6:21, 22), together with the strong similarity of the two letters in other respects, makes it practically certain that this letter was sent at the same time with the two to Colossæ. Indeed, it is more than possible that this is the letter referred to in Col. 4:16 which the Colossians were to get from Laodicea and read.

And this fact respecting the time of writing may furnish us a clue to the occasion and purpose of the letter. Paul was sending two letters to Colossæ. The messenger would naturally pass through Ephesus, and near to other cities in which there were Gentile Christian churches, indirectly the product of the apostle's labors. Here then was a favorable opportunity to address to them words calculated to strengthen their faith and build them up in knowledge and Christian character. There is, indeed, a noticeable absence of any reference to the false teaching of which the Colossian letter speaks, and this undoubtedly indicates that the error was not as yet widespread. Neither is any other error of doctrine or of life directly criticised. The Ephesian letter is positive and constructive, not polemical or even distinctly corrective. It reminds us in this respect of the first chapter of the Colossian letter, though the range of thought is wider in the Ephesian than in the Colossian letter.

While, therefore, the sending of the Colossian letter may have suggested the sending of this also, and while the thoughts called forth in the correction of the Colossian error seem to have given color to the encyclical epistle also, its purpose is not identical with that of Colossians, but somewhat broader and more general. Possibly we may discern two influences at work, and giving character to the writing. First, we must recognize the movement of the apostle's own thought. Both the Colossian and the Ephesian letter, the latter especially, show that he has been dwelling on the loftiest and broadest themes of Christian thought. He has risen above the controversies of the hour; Christ and his church are seen in their relation to the eternal divine plan, that plan itself seems spread out before his eyes. The purpose

of God, formed from eternal ages, now revealed as never before, destined to be fulfilled in ages to come ; the Son of God, in whom dwells all the fulness of the Godhead bodily, and in whom it is the divine purpose to sum up all things ; the universal church, which is the body of Christ, and includes both Jews and Gentiles ; the ideal of perfect Christian character to be attained through Christ in us—these are the themes that have occupied his thought. The very thinking of these thoughts would carry with it for him the desire to share them and their uplifting power with his brethren, and would impel him to seize the opportunity afforded by the going of Tychicus to Asia to write them down in a letter for these distant fellow believers.

But an additional motive reënforcing this impulse may well have been furnished by the situation at Colossæ. Though the Colossian error is as yet confined to Colossæ or to its immediate vicinity, so that it would be unwise to make any definite reference to it in a circular letter, yet the very existence of it would remind the apostle how subject to the attack of error all the churches are, and would impel him to do what he could to prepare them against every form of false teaching. A letter having that purpose must necessarily be general in character ; yet if one was to be written what could it better contain than an exposition upon a broad and lofty plane of the glories of salvation in Christ—a salvation provided in the eternal counsel of God, rich with present blessings, pure and high in its moral teachings, most glorious in its hopes and promises for the future, even for the ages to come ? Nor is there altogether lacking a hint that he has somewhat specially in mind the danger that the Colossian heresy itself will spread. The heart of that error was too low a conception of the nature and office of Christ ; and this letter, like that to the Colossians, exalts Christ, showing how the whole plan of salvation centers in him.

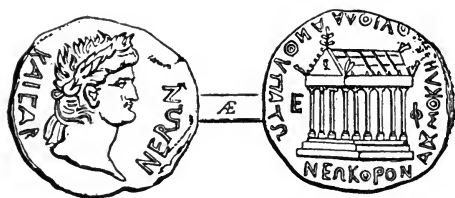
If the Christians of Asia can be made to see the glories of salvation in Christ, if they can gain something of Paul's own vision of the unsearchable riches in Christ, and can perceive that they are truly in Christ and in him only, then there is little danger that any teaching, though coming with the specious names of philosophy and asceticism, will be able to seduce them from the gospel which they have heard and accepted. With some such thought and purpose, we may believe, the apostle wrote this remarkable letter to the churches of Asia ; least personal of all his letters, telling us little either concerning the apostle's own situation or that of his readers, but giving us the broadest view of Christianity, as it appeared to Paul, of anything that we have from his

pen. Such passages as Rom. 11:33-36; 16:25-27; Phil. 2:5-11; Col. 1:9-29 have shown the apostle's capacity for this sort of writing, but no other letter furnishes so long-sustained an example of it. The apostle himself almost disappears from view, leaving us face to face with this wonderfully uplifting and broadening view of Christ and the salvation that is in him. The following analysis is an attempt to show the course of thought of the letter :

ANALYSIS.

- | | |
|---|------------|
| I. SALUTATION. | 1: 1, 2 |
| II. A DESCRIPTION OF SALVATION IN CHRIST, expressed in praise, thanksgiving, prayer, reminder; laying emphasis on the eternal purpose of God, on the richness of salvation, on the supremacy of Christ over all things, and on the unity of the church in Christ. | 1: 3—2: 22 |
| 1. Ascription of praise to God for the blessings of salvation in Christ. | 1: 3-14 |
| 2. Thanksgiving for the faith of those to whom the letter is sent, and prayer for them that they may know the riches of this salvation. | 1: 15-23 |
| 3. Reminds his readers how great a change has been wrought for them by the life-giving grace of God. | 2: 1-10 |
| 4. Reminds them of their former state of separation from Christ, and declares that in Christ all former distinctions between Jew and Gentile are abolished, both being reconciled in one body unto God through the Cross. | 2: 11-22 |
| III. TRANSITION TO THE HORTATORY PORTION OF THE LETTER: the apostle's right to pray for them and exhort them, and his prayer for them. | chap. 3 |
| 1. The stewardship given to him for them—The mystery of Christ which has been revealed to him. | 3: 1-13 |
| 2. The prayer for them that they may know the fulness of blessing in Christ. | 3: 14-19 |
| 3. Doxology. | 3: 20, 21 |
| IV. HORTATORY PORTION OF THE LETTER. | 4: 1—6: 20 |
| 1. To maintain unity in Christ. | 4: 1-16 |
| 2. To forsake the old impure heathen life and put on the new man. | 4: 17-24 |
| 3. Warning against falsehood, anger, theft, malice, evil-speaking. | 4: 25-32 |
| 4. Exhortation to love, and warning against uncleanness and covetousness. | 5: 1-14 |
| 5. Exhortation to be wise and sober. | 5: 15-21 |

- | | |
|---|----------|
| 6. Concerning domestic relations. | 5:22—6:9 |
| <i>a.</i> On the relations of husband and wife as parallel to that of Christ and the church. | 5:22—33 |
| <i>b.</i> On the relations of parents and children. | 6:1—4 |
| <i>c.</i> On those of master and servants. | 6:5—9 |
| 7. Concluding exhortation to put on the whole armor of God. | 6:10—20 |
| V. CONCLUSION. | 6:21—24 |
| 1. Concerning Tychicus. | 6:21, 22 |
| 2. Final Benediction. | 6:23, 24 |



Coin of Ephesus.

Comparative Religion Notes.

Comparative Religion at Yale.—Dr. Arthur Fairbanks of Yale University offers this year the following courses in Comparative Religion to the Graduate Department: "The History of Religion," an introductory course in which the religions of India and Persia are made the basis of the work; "The Beginnings of Religion," in which two or three types of religion among uncivilized tribes are studied to show the forms which religion may assume in the lowest stages of civilization, and questions arising in connection with these studies are taken up; "Semitic Religion," with special reference to the religion of Israel; "Inscriptions relating to the Greek Religion;" "Greek Worship and Belief," being readings from Pausanias with lectures. Dr. Fairbanks offers in addition courses of University Extension lectures on "The Greek Gods in Art and Worship" and "The Immortality of the Soul and Greek Ideas of the Future Life," with illustrations. It is most gratifying to friends of this new science to know that it is so worthily represented at Yale University.

WHAT DID THE PARLIAMENT OF RELIGIONS ACCOMPLISH?

A daily newspaper of Chicago published on September 27, 1895,—the second anniversary of the Parliament of Religion,—a symposium of opinions from eminent men in literature and religion as to its results. Some of the opinions are worthy of notice by a wider circle than that which they originally reached.

DR. J. H. BARROWS, the organizer and chairman of the Parliament wrote:

"Among the interesting effects of the world's parliament of religions I may mention the following: The emphasizing of the spiritual forces in history at the time of a great material exhibition; the setting forth of the ethical and some of the other unities in the religions of the world; the gaining of truer and more sympathetic views on ethnic religions; the demonstration of the unity of the great churches of christendom on many of the vital questions of belief; the diffusion of a vast amount of information, through the literature of the parliament, in regard to the world's religions; a more intelligent interest in Christian missions and the growing conviction that they need to be conducted with wider knowledge and larger sympathy; the building of the Haskell Oriental Museum; the establishment of two lectureships, one in Chicago and the other in Calcutta, having for their purpose the discussion of the relations of Christianity with the other faiths; the breaking down of many barriers of prejudice between men of opposing opinions; the world-wide discussion of the problems of comparative religion; the rapid issue of new books bearing on this theme; the increasing interest in the reunion of christendom; the growing belief that men ought cooperate more generally for common good ends."

The opinion of PROFESSOR C. M. TYLER, professor of Religion in Cornell University was that

"It was a colossal advance toward the final synthesis of religious opinions upon the oasis of essential Christianity. A Christian philosophy of religion, which still incorporate all that is divine in the ethnic consciousness, win the respect of all peoples outside of christendom, and secure an audience for the message of Christ is now made to be not a distant reality. To bring the earnest seekers of religious truth together from all lands into such a parliament to unite in the Lord's prayer was perhaps the sublimest event since the advent, and the mutual respect begotten of such a personal contact, of comparison of beliefs and hopes, and of an intellectual ascent to a higher recognition of the fellowship of God, has done more than the work of centuries in leveling barriers which have separated the nations. The atmosphere has been charged with electric sympathy."

REV. J. S. CHANDLER, missionary at Madura, So. India, thought that religions "must be tested by the actual life and character of the followers of each religion, and their capacity for overcoming the sins that hinder their growth into the likeness to God. I think the parliament failed in supplying any tests of these higher functions of religions. It has done good in India, but the undue praise given to it and the exaggerated claims made for it have tended to belittle the power of the new life in Christ."

To PROFESSOR JOHN BASCOM the value of the Parliament lay in the fact that "It brought together those who could offer in their most vital forms the faiths of the world, and enabled us to measure the spiritual forces operative among men. This knowledge was necessary for a successful propagation of Christianity, and the Parliament furnished it. It also imparted a new sense to the spiritual world and God's methods in that world, which is clearly manifest in broader views."

DR. EDWARD EVERETT HALE said: "The Parliament of Religions was a good plan as an agent in checkmating bigotry. I do not think any special speeches were of remarkable value. It is the exhibition of the possibility of 'together' which seems to me important."

PROFESSOR WILLIS J. BEECHER, of Auburn Seminary, found the importance of the Parliament in its proclamation of Christianity.

"I know of no other event for several decades that has so clearly published the challenge of Christianity to the other religions, and to the human reason and conscience. There is a sense in which Christianity is hostile to all other religions, and a sense in which what we call evangelical Christianity is hostile to the forms of Christianity we call less pure; but this does not change the obligation of evangelical Christianity to understand and correctly weigh the other religions. In helping to this understanding the Parliament has been of value."

The statement of PROFESSOR JAMES DRUMMOND, of Oxford, emphasized the tendency illustrated by the Parliament.

"It showed that a deep undercurrent of change had been in progress in the modes of thought, and still more, perhaps, in the sentiments with which the various religions have been regarded by their adherents. If no immediate and palpable results are visible, still we cannot doubt that that remarkable expression

of one of the most hopeful tendencies of our time has revived and encouraged many a quiet worker and opened new channels of divine influence in many countries. We cannot determine the energy of spiritual things by weight and balance, but we can see more clearly than before that the spirit of God is working in the hearts of man."

COUNT A. BERNSTORFF, of Berlin, wrote: "The lesson of the Parliament and its abiding results is religious tolerance. Representatives of Christian denominations, Mohammedans, Buddhists and adherents of other faiths were accorded the same privileges. We showed to the world that Christians need fear no comparison or discussion with other religions."

PROFESSOR FRANCIS BROWN of Union Theological Seminary, New York, wrote in the same vein:

"The comparisons instituted were such as a confident and conquering religion like Christianity need not fear to challenge; the spectacle of such a challenge was inspiring, and the results have been instructive. I am sure that while the Christian progress of the next decade needs to be no less zealous and devotedly spiritual than hitherto, it needs also to command a wide outlook, to exhibit a profound sympathy and to expect various differences in externals and nonessentials, as developed by the habits and capacities of various peoples."

A somewhat more unfavorable view was presented by BISHOP CHENEY of the Reformed Episcopal Church.

"I believe that while the Congresses of the Parliament of Religions may have had some influence in bringing the different branches of the Christian church into a better understanding, yet its attempt to place such religions as Buddhism, Confucianism and Mohammedanism on the same level with Christianity has in my estimation by no means tended to advance the cause of the Christian religion."

RABBI EMIL G. HIRSCH of Chicago was most pessimistic.

"We met and had a good time, and that is about all there is of it. The churches are no nearer together than they were, and no faith so far as I know has been in the least modified. It is true that interest in ethnic religions has been aroused, but I think that that interest is chiefly of the curiosity order. I doubt if the Oriental faiths will have any special influence on the Occidental religions."

BISHOP AMES of the African Methodist Church was much more enthusiastic. He wrote that

"Nothing that has occurred since Martin Luther appeared before the Diet at Worms and laid the foundations of religious liberty and set the forces of Protestantism in motion can compare in any degree with what the Parliament of Religions that was held in Chicago in 1893 has accomplished. It has taught the world the great lesson of religious toleration and brought the representative children of God to sit down and feast at the same table in harmony and in peace. The teachers and philosophers of the Orient returned to their homes convinced that Christianity is superior to all of the natural religions in solving the mysterious problems of matter, of the world, of man, of sin, and of the final destiny of man."

Thus wise men differ about this event now in the past as they differed in their prophecies when it was yet in the future. The Parliament is still an enigma.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE MOABITE STONE.¹

The Inscription of Mesha, known as the Moabite Stone, was discovered in 1869 by the German missionary Klein, while on a visit to the land of Moab. As in the case of the Tel el-Amarna Tablets, the Hittite Monument in the swamp near Zenjirli and many other finds, the information as to its existence and location was received at the hands of the Arabs. Klein was led by his Arab guide to Dibhan, the ancient Dibon, and there he found a *stèle* of black basalt about four feet long and two feet wide, on which was engraved a Phœnician inscription of thirty-four lines. Klein did not appreciate the importance of the discovery at the time, but, on his return to his headquarters in Jerusalem, he reported his find to the Prussian Consul. A little later, Warren, of the Palestine Exploration Fund, was notified of the find, but he made no attempt to secure it, because he learned that the Prussian Consul had already entered into negotiations for its purchase.

Early in the following year, Clermont-Ganneau, of the French Consulate in Jerusalem, learned that the stone was still lying at Dibhan, and, as is the case now with the Hittite monuments at Carchemish, exposed to the weather. He sent natives to take squeezes and, if possible, to purchase it. The Germans had already an option on the stone for £80, but Clermont-Ganneau offered as much as £375. This rivalry between the German and French consuls excited the avarice of both the Arabs and the Turkish officials. The former, fearing the Turks would secure the whole sum, poured water upon the stone, put a fire under it and thus broke it into numerous pieces which they distributed among themselves. Many of these pieces have been collected and joined together by Clermont-Ganneau with the aid of the imperfect squeezes made by the Arabs working under his direction. As thus restored it is now in the Louvre.

The language of this inscription is very closely related to the Hebrew, differing from it only dialectically. Driver summarizes the most important

¹ Compare (1) SAYCE, *The Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, Chapter VIII., for a popular account of the discovery, NEUBAUER's translation, taken from *The Records of the Past*, new series, Vol. II., pp. 194 *sq.*, and a discussion of the contents; SMEND and SOCIN, *Die Inschrift des Königs Mesa von Moab* (Munich, 1886) for the best treatment of the text; and (3) DRIVER, *Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel*, Appendix, pp. lxxxv.-xciv., for the text, a translation and critical commentary. Driver gives also the most important literature on the subject. The popular account here given is taken, for the most part, from Sayce.



The Moabite Stone.—The Lighter Portions are Restorations.

| | |
|----|---|
| 1 | אנך . משע . בן . כמשמֶלֶךְ . מלך . מאב . הד |
| 2 | יבני ו־אבי . מלך . על . מאב . שלשן . שת . ואנך . מלכ |
| 3 | תי . אחר . אבי ו ואעש . הבמת . זאת . לכמש . בקרחה ו ב[מת . י] |
| 4 | שע . כי . השעני . מכל . המלכן . וכי . הראני . בכל . שנאי ו עמר |
| 5 | י . מלך . ישראל . ויענו . את . מאב . ימן . רבן . כי . י־אנף . כמש . באר |
| 6 | צה ו ויחלפה . בנה . ויאמר . גם . הא . אענו . את . מאב ו בימי . אמר . כ |
| 7 | וארא . בה . ובכתה ו וישראל . אבד . אבד . עלם . וירש . עמרי . את [אר] |
| 8 | י . מהרבא ו וישב . בה . ימֶה . וחצי . ימי . בנה . ארבען . שת . ו[יש] |
| 9 | בה . כמש . בימי ו ואבן . את . בעלמען . ואעש . בה . האשוח . ואבן |
| 10 | את . קריתן ו ואש . נד . ישב . בארץ . עטרת . מעלם . ויבן . לה . מלך . י |
| 11 | ישראל . את . עטרת ו ואלתחם . בקר . ואחזה ו ואהרג . את . כל . ה[עם . מ] |
| 12 | הקר . רית . לכמש . ולמאב ו ואשב . משם . את . אראל . דודה . ואם |
| 13 | חבה . לפני . כמש . בקרית ו ואשב . בה . את . אש . שרן . ואת . אש |
| 14 | מחרת ו ויאמר . לי . כמש . לך . אחז . את . נבה . על . ישראל ו ו־ |
| 15 | הלך . בללה . ואלתחם . בה . מבקע . השחרת . עד . הצהרם ו ואֶה |
| 16 | זה . ואהרג . כלֶה . שבעת . אלפן . גברן . ו[?] ו גוברת . ו[?] |
| 17 | ת . ורחמת ו כי . לעשתר . כמש . החרמתה ו ואקח . משם . א[ת . כ] |
| 18 | לי . יהוה . ואסחב . הם . לפני . כמש ו ומלך . ישראל . בנה . אֶת |
| 19 | יחזן . וישב . בה . ובהלתחמה . בי ו ויגרשה . כמש . מפני ו] |
| 20 | אקח . ממאב . מאתן . אש . כל . רשה ו ואשאה . ביהן . ואחזה . |
| 21 | לספת . על . דיבן ו אנך . בנתי . קרחה . חמת . היערן . וחמת |
| 22 | העפל ו ואנך . בנתי . שעריה . ואנך . בנתי . מנדלתה ו וא |
| 23 | נך . בנתי . בת . מלך . ואנך . עשתי . כלאי . האש[וח . למ]ן . בקרב |
| 24 | הקר ו ובר . אן . בקרב . הקר . בקרחה . ואמר . לכל . העם . עשו . ל |
| 25 | כס . אש . בר . בביתה ו ואנך . כרתי . המכרתת . לקרחה . באסר |
| 26 | [י] . ישראל ו אנך .. בנתי . ערער . ואנך . עשתי . המסלת . בארנן . |
| 27 | אנך . בנתי . בת . במת . כי . הרם . הא ו אנך . בנתי . בצר . כי . עין . |
| 28 | ש . דיבן . חמשן . כי . כל . דיבן . משמעת ו ואנך . מלכ |
| 29 | תי . מאת . בקרן . אשר . יספתי . על . הארץ ו ואנך . בנה |
| 30 | י . [את .] מֶהֱד[ב]א . ובת . דבלתן ו ובת . בעלמען . ואשא . שם . את . נ[|
| 31 | צאן . הארץ ו וחורגן . ישב . בה . ב[?] ו[?] אֶל־ |
| 32 | אמר . לי . כמש . רד . הלתחם . בחורגן ו ואר[ד] |
| 33 | [ויש]בה . כמש . בימי . ועל[י] . משם . עשֶׂה |
| 34 | שֶׁת . שרק ו ואנ |

TRANSLATION.¹

1. I am Mesha' son of Chemoshmelek, king of Moab, the Da-
2. -ibonite. My father reigned over Moab for 30 years, and I reign-
3. -ed after my father. And I made this high place for Chēmōsh in QRHH, a high place of sal-
4. -vation, because he had saved me from all the kings (?), and because he had let me see my pleasure on all them that hated me. Omr-
5. -i was king over Israel, and he afflicted Moab for many days, because Chemosh was angry with his la-
6. -nd. And his son succeeded him; and he also said, I will afflict Moab. In my days said he th[us;]
7. but I saw my pleasure on him, and on his house, and Israel perished with an everlasting destruction. And Omri took possession of the [la-]
8. -nd of Mehēdeba, and it (i. e. Israel) dwelt therein, during his days, and half his son's days, forty years; but [resto-]
9. -red it Chemosh in my days. And I built Ba'al-Me'on, and I made in it the reservoir (?); and I built
10. Qiryathēn. And the men of Gad had dwelt in the land of 'A'aroth from of old; and built for himself the king of I-
11. srael 'A'aroth. And I fought against the city, and took it. And I slew all the [people'of]
12. the city, a gazingstock unto Chemosh, and unto Moab. And I brought back (or, took captive) thence the altar-hearth of Davdoh (?), and I drag-
13. -ged it before Chemosh in Qeriyioth. And I settled therein the men of SHRN, and the men of
14. MHRTH. And Chemosh said unto me, Go, take Nebo against Israel. And I
15. went by night, and fought against it from the break of dawn until noon. And I too-
16. -k it, and slew the whole of it, 7000 men and , and women, and
17. -s, and maid-servants: for I had devoted it to 'Ashtor-Chēmōsh. And I took thence the [ves-]
18. -sels of YAHWEH, and I dragged them before Chemosh. And the king of Israel had built
19. Yahaz, and abode in it, while he fought against me. But Chemosh drave him out from before me; and
20. I took of Moab 200 men, even all its chiefs; and I led them up against Yahaz, and took it
21. to add it unto Daibon. I built QRHH, the wall of Ye'ārim (or, of the Woods), and the wall of
22. the Mound. And I built its gates, and I built its towers. And
23. I built the king's palace, and I made the two reser[voirs(?)] for wa]ter in the midst of
24. the city. And there was no cistern in the midst of the city, in QRHH. And I said to all the people, Make
25. you every man a cistern in his house. And I cut out the cutting for QRHH with the help of prisoner-
26. [-s of] Israel. I built 'Aro'er, and I made the highway by the Arnon.
27. I built Beth-Bamoth, for it was pulled down. I built Bezer, for ruins
28. [had it become. And the chie]fs of Daibon were fifty, for all Daibon was obedient (to me). And I reign-
29. -ed [over] an hundred [chiefs] in the cities which I added to the land. And I built-
30. -t Mehēdē[b]a, and Beth-Diblahēn, and Beth-Ba'al-Me'on; and I took there the sheep-grazers(?),
31. sheep of the land. And as for Horonēn, there dwelt therein and
32. Chemosh said unto me, Go down, fight against Horonēn. And I went down
33. [and] Chemosh [resto]red it in my days. And I went up thence to
34. And I

¹ DRIVER, Notes on the Hebrew Text of the Books of Samuel.

historical features of the inscription as follows: "(1) The re-conquest of Moab by Omri; (2) the fact that Mesha's revolt took place in the middle of Ahab's reign, not after his death (as stated, 2 Kings 1:1); (3) particulars of the wars by which Moab regained its independence; (4) The extent of country occupied and fortified by Mesha; (5) the manner and terms in which the authority of Chemosh, the national deity of Moab, is recognized by Mesha; (6) the existence of a sanctuary of Yahweh at Nebo; (7) the state of civilization and culture which had been reached by Moab at the end of the tenth century B.C."

R. F. H.

It is generally believed that the image of Jesus Christ on the crucifix is not found earlier than the sixth century of our era. Yet a crucifix had once been drawn in the third century by the hand of a pagan. In the year 1857 P.



Garrucci found a mock crucifix on the wall in the ruins of the imperial palaces on the Palatine hill in Rome, and it is now preserved in the Museo Kircheriano. It represents a crucified man with the head of an ass or a horse, a human figure kneeling before it, together with the inscription: 'Αλεξάμενος σέβετε (for σέβεται) θεόν: Alexamenos worships (his) god. The cross has the form of a T as found usually; on the horizontal bar was commonly nailed the tablet (*titulus*, *airla*, Dio Cassius) giving information as to the cause of the execution. The feet of the executed were supported by another small horizontal bar at

the bottom of the cross (the *suppedaneum*). The picture probably shows also the stool (*equuleus*) upon which the condemned was seated while the executioners nailed him to the cross (see Justin Martyr, *Dial. cum Tryph.*, 91, etc.). Our picture does not show whether the condemned was tied to or nailed on the cross; he appears to be dressed with a short tunic, something rather unusual. Schaff's attempts to locate and date an event that gave rise to this caricature (Church History II., 272), are to be treated with great caution.

W. M.-A.

Synopses of Important Articles.

DID AMOS APPROVE THE CALF-WORSHIP AT BETHEL? By PROFESSOR L. B. PATON, in *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XIII., 1894. Pp. 80-90.

The "exilian editor" of Kings (1 Kings 12 : 28-30) declares that the calf-worship of Bethel was a sin, though he recognizes that it was not Jeroboam's intention to apostatize from the worship of Jehovah, and that the calf-worship which is condemned was a real Jehovah-worship. Not Elijah, or Elisha, or Jehu attacked it. The ten tribes regarded themselves throughout their history as Jehovah-worshippers. Amos does not denounce the calves. Did he then approve of this cult? So some scholars infer from his silence. The argument against this inference is as follows: (1) Hosea denounces calf-worship vehemently and uncompromisingly as idolatry. Can he who is so closely related to Amos in time and spiritual sympathy as well as literary dependence have taken this step independently of his predecessor? Hardly. (2) Amos asserted the more fundamental fact which involved condemnation of the calf-worship, viz., that the God worshiped at Bethel was not Jehovah at all. The popular idea of Jehovah was that he was the tutelary god of Israel who would always protect his people, could be appeased by sacrifices, and whose "day" would bring Israel glory. Amos set over against this idea of Jehovah as national god the conception of "Jehovah of hosts," by which he meant Jehovah as ruler of the universe. Such passages teaching the universal causality of God as 3:6; 4:13; 5:8; 9:5, 6 cannot be set aside as glosses. They are the keystone of the argument, the thoughts that lift Amos above his age and gave him therefore a message to his age. In opposing Israel's particularistic idea of Jehovah he went so far as to deny that they were worshipping the real Jehovah. Such passages as 8:14; 5:4 f; 4:4 f show that the Bethel cult in his eyes was apostasy from Jehovah. Similar passages are 1:2; 9:1-4. (3) Therefore, in the condemnation of the fundamental idea of that Israelitish religion Amos condemned implicitly every detail of that religion, hence calf-worship along with the rest. Hosea's primary thought is like that of Amos, and even his denunciation of calf-worship is incidental, a mere detail of his more essential indictment of the central element of the system.

This is a very ingenious application of the argument from silence. There are some people who are very much afraid of this argument, as though it were universally invalid and worthless. But here Mr. Paton turns it very cleverly against those who are commonly denounced for their employment of it; or rather he makes it yield an opposite result. Yet the article is not altogether convincing. One feels that single expressions of Amos are interpreted too rigidly, and that the general attitude of the prophet is not that which the proper interpretation of these passages implies. Do the sermons of Amos convey in general the impression that he was addressing a people who had, in his opinion, substituted some other god for Jehovah? It is not by any

means so clear as our author asserts. Another very important consideration, mentioned by the author himself, but its import left unobserved, is that the exilian author of Kings did not regard this calf-worship as anything but Jehovah-worship. If exilic prophets Amos and Hosea held the high view claimed by the author, it was a significant regress made by the exilian prophet-historian. However that difficulty may be explained, it seems to us that Amos neglected to condemn calf-worship, not because he approved of it, nor because he regarded the whole Israelitish religion as heathenish, but because there were other abominations of Jehovah-worship in Israel which impressed him more deeply, other reforms required which appealed to him more strongly. Cf. W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, p. 176. In other words, the conclusion of our author is valid, though his method of arriving at it is unsatisfactory.

G. S. G.

THE PERSON OF CHRIST. By REV. PROFESSOR GEORGE B. STEVENS, Ph.D., D.D., in his recent book *Doctrine and Life*, pp. 105-121.

The person of Jesus Christ is the great miracle of history. It is at once the mystery and the glory of the religion which is called by his name. Supreme and solitary, Christ stands among men, towering above all others. Yet his superiority to all other men does not involve a separateness from them in interest and sympathy. He is most closely identified with his fellows; he is ideally, intensely human. He is elevated above other men just because he represents humanity in its perfection, because in him we behold our common human nature dignified and glorified by the disclosure of its divine origin and destiny.

We must approach the character of Christ from this human side. We must look upon him as he is presented to us in the clear light of the gospels, and must listen to the words which he speaks to us concerning God and ourselves. He seems to have made it his first concern to induce men to accept his idea of God and his principles of human living, rather than to adopt any particular view of his own personality. A critical, comparative study of the gospels leads to the conclusion that he was very slow to announce himself as the Messiah, and that he wished to avoid exciting too keen an interest in the discussion of the nature of his person. His characteristic truths, however, concerning God and man and duty, he was always urging upon the minds of men. He certainly made important claims respecting his person and mission; but he seemed willing to let these claims take care of themselves, if only men would repent of sin, believe in God, and try to live lives of unselfish love. His ideal of life is the highest possible—likeness to God himself; and his interpretation of life's true meaning opens to the spirit of man a large, free world of thought and achievement. While he had the keenest sense of what was sinful and wrong, he never in any way implied that he was personally conscious of sin. His marvelous knowledge of the human heart and character excludes the supposition that he did not know himself. He was conscious of perfect holiness of motive and action, of perfect harmony in purpose and desire with the will of God.

When we approach the character of Jesus, we see at once that there is something absolutely unique about it. It is peculiar just because it possesses no "peculiarities." None of the words which designate a peculiar type of man are applicable to him. Wonderfully energetic, patient and persevering, yet no enthusiast; wonderfully calm, quiet, and even reserved, yet no recluse. All other qualities of the truest manhood belong to him, but are set in perfect equipoise with what we are accustomed to call the opposite qualities. In Jesus it is no special quality or qualities which attract attention, but the rounded completeness of the whole character. The ideal character is found only in the complete, symmetrical development of the total man. This completeness of character we see in Jesus when we consider the harmony of will and emotion, of firmness and tenderness, which always characterized his life. The completeness of Jesus' life is also seen in the fact that in him appears no single, local, or national type of character, but the "universal man." Of Jewish peculiarities and prejudices we find nothing whatever in him. His sympathies are in no degree limited by any boundaries of country or limits of time. They are as wide as the race—as wide as the interests, needs and sins of mankind. Also, in Jesus were blended the qualities which are most truly womanly with those which are considered distinctly masculine.

It is these facts—the elevation of the teaching of Jesus, the dignity of his person, his sinlessness, and positive completeness of character—which, in connection with the special claims which he makes, give rise to the problem of his unique personality. We cannot wonder that the church has asserted that Jesus Christ was more than a man; that no possible compound of mere human qualities could produce such a character. Hence arose the formulation of the doctrine that Jesus Christ mysteriously united in himself both divinity and humanity. This mystery has been accepted and cherished by the greater part of the Christian world, not because the mind was able to construe or resolve it, but because the facts of Christ's teaching, person, and claims were held to require it, and because it was believed to be attested by his power in human life and history. That God should reveal himself through an incarnation in humanity is, indeed, an unparalleled mystery, but is not without some confirmation from analogy. God reveals himself in all his works, and especially in man, who is, in a special sense, kindred in his moral nature to God, and in whom God is believed by all religious minds to make himself felt and known. The moral likeness of man to God suggests the possibility of the incarnation. If, now, the Trinitarian conception of the divine nature be adopted, there remains no formidable barrier to the acceptance of the doctrine of the incarnation. I am convinced that if we can separate the problem of the *method* of the incarnation from the considerations which favor the *fact*, and can frankly admit that the former is an absolute mystery, we shall find that the idea of the incarnation will commend itself as both fitting into the process of biblical revelation, and as answering to the demands of man's religious nature in general, and to the verdict of the Christian consciousness in particular.

C. W. V.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

Although many of the facts which are given below have appeared in the *BIBLICAL WORLD* in monthly installments, it is well to give a view of the work of a year in order to appreciate the full extent of the influence of the organization. We therefore quote a number of interesting facts from the annual report presented at the meeting of the Board of Directors in New York City, November 29.

Correspondence Schools. New students enrolled, 79; examination papers corrected, 1756; greatest number of workers at any one time, 115. A special feature has been made of the advanced courses in Hebrew and New Testament Greek.

Prize Examinations. The prize examinations which were offered to colleges secured the following results: The total number enrolled in Hebrew, 24; New Testament Greek, 46; English Bible, 69. The following colleges entered the contest: Yale, Princeton, Chicago, Cornell, Harvard, Williams, Pennsylvania, Amherst, Wellesley, Northwestern, Oberlin, Bryn Mawr, Oregon (State), Ohio (State), Maine (State), Denver, Missouri (State), Ohio Wesleyan, Wyoming (State), Iowa (State), Haverford, Drake, Leesville, Redfield, Centre (Ky.), Westminster, U. S. Grant, Newberry, Bloomfield, Trinity, University of Nebraska, Mt. Holyoke, Bucknell, Lafayette, Des Moines, Wabash, Washburn, Albion, Franklin, Rockford, Carlton, Bates, Central (Ia.), Randolph-Macon, Hobart, Doane, Ursinus, Union Christian, Albert Lea, Missouri Valley, Cornell (Ia.), Adrian, Moore's Hill, Wofford, Park, Kenyon, King's, Hope, St. Stephens, McGill, Knox, Victoria.

Summer Schools. Summer schools of from one to six weeks duration were held at the following places: Chautauqua, N. Y.; University of Chicago; Bay View, Mich.; Lakeside, Ohio; Lake Madison, S. D.; Tully Lake, N. Y.; Silver Lake, N. Y.; Monteagle, Tenn.; Winfield, Kans.; Ottawa, Kans.; Macatawa Park, Mich. In these schools thirty-two teachers were employed, all of whom were professional biblical teachers of more or less repute. Fifty-three separate courses were offered. As the enrollment in these schools was in many places irregular, it is difficult to state how many students were reached, but to place the estimate at two thousand is not unsafe.

Local Institutes. Local Institutes were held as follows: At Normal, Ill., in connection with the State Normal University; at Wheaton, Ill., in connection with Wheaton College; at Kalamazoo, Mich., in connection with the Christian Endeavor Union; at Chicago, in connection with The University of Chicago; at Des Moines, Iowa, in connection with Drake University; at

Moline, Ill., under church auspices; at Des Moines, Iowa, in connection with Des Moines College; at Kalamazoo, Mich., in connection with the Young People's Union; at Howell, Mich., in connection with the Sunday School Association; at Ann Arbor, Mich., in connection with the Bible Chairs.

The Club Course for Organizations. In America total number of men enrolled, 661; the total number of women, 1772. In addition there were 1700 students in Australia. The cosmopolitan character of this membership will be seen from the following list of religious denominations: Baptist, Methodist Episcopal, Congregational, Presbyterian, Protestant Episcopal, Friends, Disciples, Protestant Congregational, Dutch Reformed, United Presbyterian, Christian Alliance, Evangelical, Free Will Baptist, Church of England, Moravian, Universalist, Evangelical Lutheran, United Brethren, German Methodist, Hebrew.

The fact that the following organizations are actively coöperating with the Institute is also very significant: The Young Men's Christian Association, The Young Women's Christian Association, The Young People's Society of Christian Endeavor, The Epworth League, The Baptist Young People's Union, The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, The King's Daughters, The St. Andrew's Brotherhood.

The Bible Students' Reading Guild. Membership: Men, 200; women, 270. Countries represented by missionary readers: South America, England, Wales, Japan, China, Syria, Mexico.

The following list of occupations of members will show how the work has come into touch with all classes of society: Housewives, ministers, teachers, clerks, merchants, missionaries, stenographers, mechanics, physicians, college professors, secretaries, bookkeepers, librarians, factory superintendents, lawyers, editors, dressmakers, manufacturers, students, hospital nurse, chemist, artist.

Perhaps it will be of interest also to add a few figures concerning the work which was necessary to bring about these results. During the year 350,000 circulars were distributed, 10,000 pamphlets were issued, 86,000 instruction sheets and bulletins, and 76 special studies.

The total enrollment of students, 4133 in the club course; 470 in the Reading Guild, 115 in the correspondence schools, and 68 in the examinations, aggregates nearly 5000. Add to this the number of people constituent to and in the summer schools and the local institutes, a most conservative estimate of which would be 5000, and we have the immense number of 10,000 who have been more or less closely touched by the work of the Institute within one year.

Work and Workers.

DR. JOSEPH J. LAMPE, of New York, has been appointed to the Professorship of Old Testament Literature and Exegesis in the Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Omaha, Neb.

THE presidency of Lane Theological Seminary, at Cincinnati, has been offered to the Rev. Samuel J. Nicolls, D.D. of St. Louis; it is not yet known whether he will accept the appointment.

A NEW work upon a subject of great interest and importance is promised in Dr. Franklin Johnson's *Quotations of the New Testament from the Old*, to be issued this month by the American Baptist Publication Society, Philadelphia.

THE last volume of the Expositor's Bible series will soon be published. It is upon the minor prophets, bearing the title, *The Book of the Twelve Prophets*, and is prepared by Dr. George Adam Smith, whose previous contributions to the series have done much toward making its reputation.

THE International Sunday School Lesson Committee, at its recent meeting in Montreal, filled the vacancy in that body caused by the death of Dr. JOHN A. BROADUS, by the election to that position of Dr. John R. Sampey, Professor of Old Testament Interpretation in the Baptist Theological Seminary at Louisville, Ky., of which Dr. Broadus was the president.

A NEW work of great interest for students of early church history is the *Skizzen aus dem Leben der Alten Kirche*, by Professor Zahn, of Erlangen, than whom there is no abler or safer guide to a knowledge of this period. There are seven essays upon the following subjects: "Prayer in the Name of Christ in the Apostolic Age," "The Social Problem and Home Mission Work on the basis of the Epistle of James," "Slavery and Christianity in the Ancient World," "The Mission Methods of the Apostolic Era," "The Relations of the Church to the State in the First Three Centuries," "The History of the Sunday, especially in the Ancient Church," and "Constantine the Great and the Church." The work contains also two appendices, one upon "Christian Prayers from the years 90 to 170," the other "A Christian Address from the Fourth Century on 'Rest from Labor on Sunday.'" There is much new information in these pages, and some important rewriting of things already discussed.

FOR the entire year of 1897 the International Sunday School Lessons are to be upon the Acts and the Epistles. This is a desirable arrangement. The only way to study satisfactorily the New Testament books outside of the four gospels is to study them in their chronological relation to each other, the Acts

forming the framework and the Epistles introduced at their proper historical points. The arrangement made for the lessons gives only brief glances at some of the Epistles, and those not arranged in true chronological order. But it will be altogether possible for teachers and students to do what the lesson committee have not done, make the arrangement of the New Testament books historical and complete. Altogether the finest work for this purpose, indeed precisely the work needed, has just been published by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. It is an arrangement of the Acts and Epistles in their chronological order, the full text printed in the revised version, with abundant cross-references, the work of Professor E. D. Burton of the University of Chicago. The full title of the work is *The Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age*. It will be *the* book to use in the Sunday School during 1897. It is greatly to be hoped that the Acts and the Epistles will be studied from the historical point of view, and comprehensively, this time, as well as ethically and doctrinally.

THE *Sunday School Times* of December 14th contains an editorial entitled "Helps to the Study of the Third Gospel" which is open to criticism both for what it names and for what it does not name. It would have been much better to have named only a few of the latest and best works upon Luke, and the life of Christ—books which one cannot afford to be without in the study of the third gospel, rather than to have given the names of a long list of books which are of all grades of value, and many of which have been superseded by more recent publications. The reader is not sufficiently guided to a choice among the books named; for example, after naming ten commentaries upon Luke it is said, "of all these, Godet, Meyer, Maurice, Burton, McLaren and Riddle are to be preferred." Perhaps they are, but in any case the commentaries of Maurice, Burton, and McLaren cannot be classed with those of Godet and Meyer, and there is no indication that some of these works are more valuable than others, or which of them should be bought first by the Sunday School teacher. Godet's commentary on Luke is undoubtedly the one commentary which every Sunday School worker should, if possible, buy. Meyer's commentary on Luke cannot be used without having his commentary on Matthew, a fact which few would know. Burton's work referred to (Expositor's Bible series) does not serve the purpose of a commentary at all. And so there are many things which should have been said, if the reader was to obtain any real guidance in the purchase or use of books on Luke. Of the Lives of Christ seven are named, with no indication as to which one or two of the seven should be bought—consecution of the names is no criterion, for Andrews and Stalker are the last two named. There can be no doubt that for the general Sunday School worker the Lives of Christ by Edersheim and Andrews are first, and without any rivals; that information should have been given. No mention is made of Weiss's or Neander's Life of Christ. Again, five works upon the Parables are named, without indication as to relative value, while one of the most useful popular works is omitted—that by Dr. Dods (London: Hodder & Stoughton), and the excellent little work of

Salmond (New York: Scribners) is omitted. In mentioning books upon the Holy Land no reference is made to Henderson's *Palestine*, the best and most reliable small work on this subject (Handbooks for Bible Classes, imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York), nor to Dr. George Adam Smith's magnificent work entitled *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (London: Hodder & Stoughton), which throws every other work on Palestine into the background. In the matter of New Testament introductions why should Reuss's *History of the Scriptures of the New Testament* be specially recommended to the Sunday School worker, and in recommending Godet's *Introduction to the New Testament* for the study of Luke would it not have been well to state the fact that that work at present has got no farther than the Pauline Epistles? But the most remarkable omission is in the list of "Harmonies of the Gospels in English." Riddle's edition of "Robinson's Harmony," and "Gardiner's Harmony," besides one British Harmony, are mentioned, all of them giving the authorized version. These have all been superseded in every respect by the more recently published harmonies, in the revised version, of Dr. Broadus (New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son) and of Professors Stevens and Burton (Boston: Silver, Burdett & Co.). Notice was taken of these two works in the *Sunday School Times* of June 2, 1894; now, when they should have been recommended above all others, they are entirely forgotten. Six years ago (January-June, 1890) the Gospel of Luke was the basis of the International Lessons, and in the *Sunday School Times* of December 14, 1889, an editorial appeared giving a list of works for the study of this gospel. The list there given was much longer, but some attempt was made to discriminate between the works as to relative value. The publishers of the thousand and one books upon the gospels and the life of Christ are of course gratified to have their books mentioned, but theirs is really the only interest served thereby. Here is the average Sunday School worker who can at most afford to buy for the study of Luke one English Harmony of the gospels, one or two Lives of Christ, one (possibly two) commentaries on Luke, and one work on Palestine. The particular function of the *Sunday School Times* is to give him such information as will enable him to choose which are the best books in these classes for him to purchase. Instead of that, a list of five to ten works in each class is named without any description of them or comment upon them which could form the basis of a choice. What he wants to know is, which book to buy first in each class; we should say that beyond question he should buy the Stevens-Burton *Harmony of the Gospels*, the *Lives of Christ* by Edersheim and Andrews, Godet's *Commentary on Luke* (and if a second is possible, Meyer's), and G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (or if that cannot be afforded, then Henderson's *Palestine*). If other books are to be mentioned, either for reference or for further purchase, they should be named in the order of their value in each class, and a brief description of each attached. Mere lists of authors, titles and publishers are not of much value to the book buyer.

Communications and Questions.

So many questions and communications of general interest are received by the editors of the Biblical World, that it has seemed best to publish such of them as seem especially important, together with such answers as may be suggested.

Will you tell me some of the best literature on the Pentateuchal question, especially on the conservative side?

Hoffmann, D., "Abhandlungen ü. d. Pentateuch-Gesetze." *Mag. f. d. Wiss. d. Judenthums*, 1879-80.

Smith, W. R., *Old Testament in the Jewish Church*, London, 1881.

Watson, *The Law and the Prophets*. Hulsean Lectures, 1882; London, 1884.

Smith, R. P., *Mosaic Authorship and Credibility of the Pentateuch*. London Relig. Tract Soc. No date.

Green, W. H., *Moses and the Prophets*. New York, 1883.

Bissell, E. C., *The Pentateuch: its Origin and Structure*. New York, 1885.

Green, W. H., *Hebrew Feasts*. New York, 1885.

Chambers, T. W., "Moses and Recent Critics." Series of essays on Old Testament Criticism, by various American scholars. New York, 1889.

Mead, C. M., *Romans Dissected: a test of a critical method*. New York, 1891.

Bissell, E. C., *Genesis Printed in Colors*. Hartford, 1892.

French, *Lex Mosaica: a series of essays on Old Testament Criticism*, by several English authors. London, 1894.

Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Monuments*, chaps. 1-5. London, 1894.

Green, W. H., *Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*. New York, 1895.

———, *The Unity of the Book of Genesis*. New York, 1895.

Kleinert, *Das Deuteronomium u. d. Deuteronomiker*. Leipzig, 1872.

Zahn, *Das Deuteronomium*. Gütersloh, 1890.

Is it possible to fix exact dates for the most important events of the Old Testament History?

Not with our present knowledge. The biblical histories do not furnish a chronological record that is complete or accurate when tested by all the materials at command, or when compared with itself. A fair measure of approximation has been reached on many points, especially through the help afforded by the Assyrian chronological lists, through mention of eclipses whose dates have been astronomically reckoned, through calculations and

comparisons with later chronological materials, especially the canon of Ptolemy. But the lack of any fixed era from which events were reckoned in the ancient world, and the absence of any continuous historical record of any and all of the nations of antiquity make it impossible to construct any chronological system which can claim exactness when tested as a whole or in particular portions. And a recent writer on the subject, Alker, declares that to bring harmony out of the chronological materials coming from biblical and non-biblical sources, without calling in the help of *conjecture*, is generally recognized to be quite out of the question. As we must depend on the non-biblical chronological materials to help out the biblical chronology, it would seem to be self-evident that an exact biblical chronology cannot exist where conjecture is relied upon. Yet even now a high degree of probability is attained respecting the dating of events occurring during the Assyrian period of Israel's history, and there is hope that new discoveries in the valley of the Euphrates will serve to clear up dark places and afford complete certainty.

G. S. G.

Book Reviews.

The Historical Geography of the Holy Land, especially in relation to the History of Israel and of the Early Church. By GEORGE ADAM SMITH, D.D. With six maps. Second edition. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1895. Pp. xxv., 692. Price, \$4.50.

This is a unique book. Dean Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine* was an essay in the same direction, but only fragmentary and tentative. This book fills its place and much more besides. Geography is an indispensable aid to history. Events happened, men lived — somewhere. That "somewhere" had much to do with the outcome of the events, the life of the men. The purpose of this book is to bring the event and the place, the man and his environment, together, and to show how much and what manner of illumination the one can give to the other. Such a service in the case of the Sacred History is especially valuable and necessary, (1) because of the veil of unreality which hangs around the biblical characters, often making them spectres in a spiritual sphere with no relation to ordinary humanity except that mediated by a symbolic or spiritualizing interpretation, and (2) because of the remarkable geography of the Holy Land and the exceedingly intimate relation it had to the people who lived and died in that land. The whole is made more real and more true — in being made more human, it becomes at the same time more helpful — by resetting it in the frame of earthly circumstance and scene, separation from which was loss of a part of itself. (3) The supreme interest of the Bible, centering, as it does, upon Jesus Christ, makes desirable and indispensable to the student every means of coming into closer touch with him. To know intimately the country where he lived, to dwell by imagination in the scenes where he dwelt, to follow him on the pathways he walked, is to draw nearer to him, to understand him better and thus to gain a new power of imitating and obeying him.

The author has peculiar gifts and preparation for this task. He has insight and imagination, indispensable for reuniting the scattered elements of a past life, ample and careful learning, fortified by two visits to the Holy Land in 1880 and 1891, reverence for the sacred history, and a vivid and vigorous style which makes the old scenes live again in their original vitality.

It will be not unprofitable to give an outline of the structure and general contents of the ample volume. It is divided into three "Books." Book I. deals with "the land as a whole," under six chapters. Ch. 1, "Syria's place in the world's history," which is conditioned by four factors, (1) her relation to Arabia, (2) her position as debatable ground between Asia and Africa, (3) her influence westward, (4) her religion. Ch. 2, "the form of the land and its historical consequences" marks off the land into its seven great regions from west to east, (1) the maritime plain, (2) the low hills or Shepheleh,

(3) the central range, cut in two by (4) Esdraelon, and running out into (5) the Negeb, (6) the Jordan valley, (7) the eastern range. This division emphasizes the distinction between mountain and plain as determining history, on which account Palestine was destined to be a land of tribes not the seat of one great unified government. Ch. 3, "climate and fertility," presents the influence of the "ample" temperature, the sudden changes as making men hardy, the whole lending itself to the service of moral ideas; the effect of the marvelous fertility upon the Bedouin immigrant in occasioning (*a*) an ascent in civilization, but (*b*) a fall in religion. Ch. 4, "the scenery and its reflection in Old Testament poetry" is full of brilliant pictures of the sights and scenes of the land as they are reflected in the war songs, the prophetic messages, the Song of Solomon and the Psalms. Ch. 5, "the land and questions of faith" bids us not expect too much of this geographical illustration of the Bible. It is subsidiary. Its help is positive when it seems to be negative, *e. g.*, it removes the possibility of chance from this history, and it leads us, by its own inability to explain the facts, to seek the higher explanation. Its use is seen in the development of true faith in the incarnation, in that it enables us (*a*) to realize the preparation for Christ's coming, and (*b*) to grasp him as a man and a man of his time. Ch. 6 places the reader on Mt. Ebal, from there to gain in one bird's-eye view a comprehensive knowledge of the geographical situation of Palestine.

Books II. and III. go into details which Book I. has marked out, the former describing western Palestine, the latter, Palestine east of the Jordan. It is not necessary to state the various details of these "Books." They show an unexampled vividness of conception and expression which makes everything stand out before the mind. You seem to see the great roads of Galilee thronged with travelers from east and west, the bustling life about Nazareth, the jungle bed of Jordan with its lions, the opulence coupled with insecurity of Eastern Palestine, the brilliant civilization of the Decapolis, the black basalt villages of the Hauran, the glowing fertility of the Damascus plain, and a dozen other equally charming bits of color that adorn these pages. There is the warm sympathy of the writer with all the varied phases of this life. He sees into the moral meaning and historical issues of a landscape or a mountain range, and what were once dry facts and figures are given a permanent intellectual and spiritual interest. A marvelous faculty of generalization gathers from a fact or bundle of scattered notices—an epitaph, a ruined building, or a flowing stream—fruitful historic principles which work out into details of wide application. Almost every page has a quotable passage; every chapter has much that is permanently valuable. It is a commentary on the Bible of unequalled richness and beauty. No student of the Bible can afford to be without it, and no student of the Bible will find it anything but delightful reading.

The book has the defects of its qualities, as is the case with every great book. The easy style of the author has led him into some diffuseness.

Repetitions are not infrequent, in some cases doubtless required by the plan of the work. But we think that it might have been condensed by one-tenth without injury. It is also a question whether the author has not been sometimes over brilliant. It seems ungracious, perhaps, to say that the color has sometimes been laid on too thickly, the generalizations sometimes made from too few facts, the modern spirit projected too far into the ancient world, making it respond to what is modern motive. Let us illustrate. "The rôle of the Semitic race has been intermediary" (p. 5). This may be true of the Syrian Semites, but does it apply to those of Assyria and Babylonia? Has not the Semite been the producer of an original civilization? The Semites are those through whom have come to the world "its only universal religions" (p. 6). But has not Buddhism as rightful a claim to universality as Judaism or Islam? Again, "to the prophets Phœnicia and her influence are a great and a sacred thing Isaiah and Ezekiel bewail the destruction of Tyre and her navies as desecration" (p. 28). This conclusion can hardly be drawn from the prophetic passages referred to. Their attitude seems rather one of condemnation. The conception of Israel's decline in religion on entering the promised land (pp. 89-90) ought to be counterbalanced by the consideration that the bold and rude tribal religion of the Bedouin was really enriched by contact with Canaanite naturalism. It was a seeming decline, but a real advance. Judea (p. 323) is compared with Northern Israel, to the depreciation of the latter in moral and religious elements. But is sufficient weight given to the variety and fulness of the religious life of the latter?

We add some further criticisms on points of detail. The author defends vigorously the representation in the Book of Joshua of the passage of the Jordan by all the tribes under Joshua. He does not seem to us to give due weight to what appears to be the differing representation in Judges ch. 1, or to offer any adequate explanation of why Judah should have left the united host at Jericho, or later. The second edition shows the influence of W. M. Müller's important work on "Asia and Europe in the Light of Egyptian Monuments," but nothing like justice is done to Müller's conclusions respecting the Philistines. Smith's chapter needs a thorough reconstruction in view of those conclusions. The note on page 197 is quite inadequate. The note about the river Litany on p. 415 is correct, and we are, therefore, surprised to see the incorrect "Leontes" appearing on the large map I.

However, our criticisms are few and may be thought chiefly to represent personal preferences, called out by a book so wide in its scope and so fruitful in its suggestions. No one can read it without constant admiration and constant benefit. Both admiration and benefit increase the longer the book is studied. It is a permanent contribution to biblical knowledge of the very highest kind.

G. S. G.

LITERARY NOTES.

ARNOLD'S PRACTICAL SABBATH-SCHOOL COMMENTARY ON THE INTERNATIONAL LESSONS, 1846. Chicago: Fleming H. Revel Co. 50 cents. This commentary is marked by the ordinary characteristics of its class, but adds some stories as its "Hints to Primary Teachers."

JOSEPH, THE DREAMER. By Robert Bird. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. For sale in Chicago by A. C. McClurg & Co. Price, \$1.50. This is an expanded account of the material given in Genesis. It is very entertainingly written, and furnishes much illustrative matter for an appreciative knowledge of the life of Joseph.

MARY OF NAZARETH AND HER FAMILY: A SCRIPTURE STUDY. By S. M. Merrill, D.D., Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church. This book gives a plain, readable sketch of all that is known of Jesus' family. Its position is that Jesus had four own brothers, who are known in the New Testament as the Brethren of Jesus. The author seems to have a more devotional than critical ability, but yet presents some things that are worthy of much consideration.

THE CRITICAL REVIEW for 1895 (imported by Charles Scribner's Sons, \$2.00 net. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.) is on our table in bound form. For able reviews of the leading theological books this periodical fills a place in which it has no important following among English periodicals. From no other English source can the student of any department of theology learn so well and so truly what the noteworthy literature of the past year has been, and what is the character and value of the chief works.

THE BIBLE DOCTRINE OF MAN, or The Anthropology and Psychology of Scripture. By John Laidlaw, Professor of Theology, New College, Edinburgh. New edition, revised and rearranged. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. \$3.00. The first edition of this work is so well and favorably known that the new edition which the author describes as "an entire recast of the book," will be heartily welcomed. Its bibliography is full and valuable. It is to be commended to those who are seeking a rational understanding of the meaning and relations of the biblical terms body, soul, spirit.

THE LIFE AND EPISTLES OF ST. PAUL, \$1.50, by W. J. Conybeare and J. S. Howson. S. S. Scranton & Co., of Hartford, Conn., have issued a handsome reprint of the popular edition of Conybeare and Howson's *Life and Epistles of St. Paul*. The popular element consists not in any material abridgement of the text, but mainly in the omission of some notes, especially those in foreign languages, and the revision of others. This work was done by Dean Howson himself for the original issue of this popular edition in 1862. The present reprint is from clear type, on good paper, and is sold at a very low price. It is to be regretted that the publishers should have felt themselves justified in erasing the original dates of the prefaces, thus apparently seeking to convey the impression that they are the original publishers.

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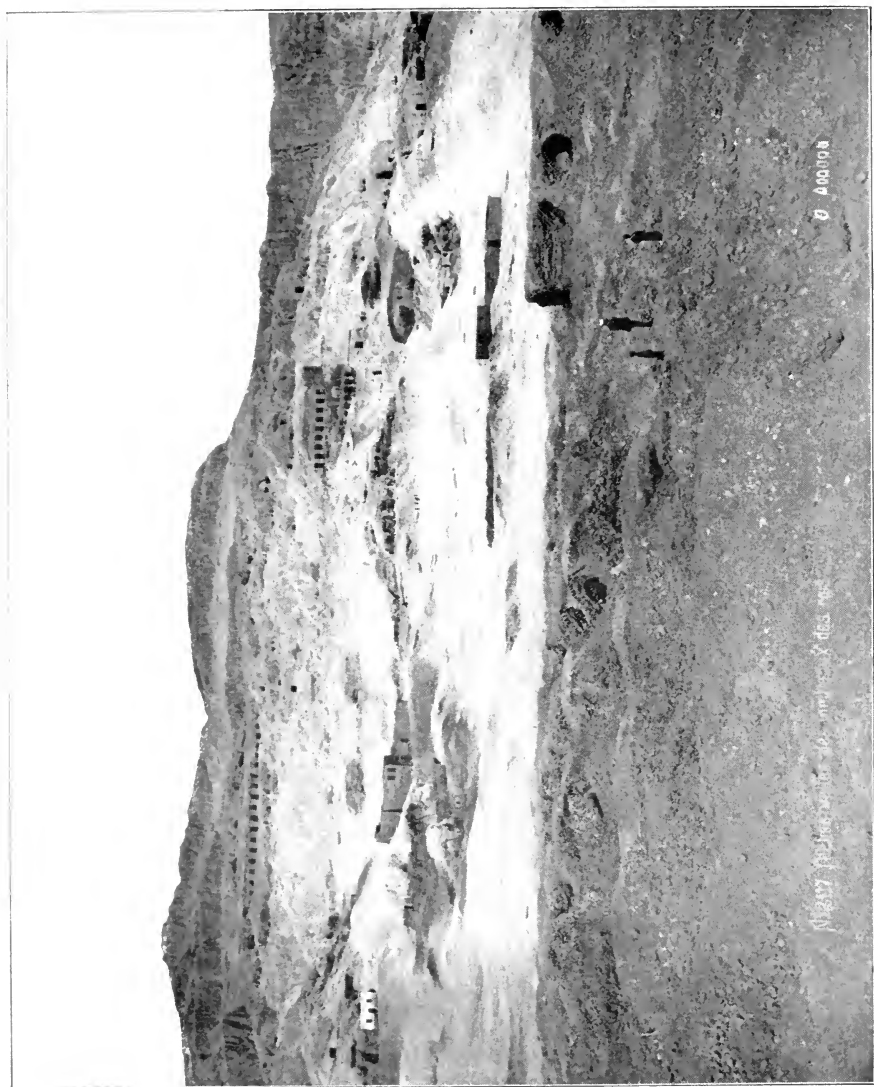
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THE NECROPOLIS OF THEBES.—See Page 139.

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VII.

FEBRUARY, 1896

NUMBER 2

MODERN preaching in many particulars has been marvelously successful. Probably in no period has the pulpit been better able to move men to right action. The great revival movements that have succeeded each other since 1858 have given rise to a class of preachers and a style of preaching that have reduced almost to an art the appeal to motive, and the incitement to new religious life. In a word, preaching as never before is "practical."

AND while thus successful in the sphere of conversion, the pulpit has also grown in importance as a sociological and political force. If one will compare sermons preached before the beginning of the great revival period, and, indeed, those preached before the present generation of preachers and evangelists began their work, the truth of this statement will become at once evident. Morality has, it is true, always been earnestly inculcated by the clergy, but the older type of preaching grappled with principles where today's attacks the problem of the home. Municipal corruption, social inequalities, reform movements, national and international questions are nowadays among the staple subjects of pulpit utterances. Probably no class of men is more absorbed in social

problems than are pastors, and from no class can greater aid be expected in the settlement of social strife. In America, at least, the message of the pulpit can no longer be called that of mere other-worldliness.

BUT, while thus gaining in the firmness of its grasp upon the practical side of life, it is to be feared that the pulpit has lost something of its old-time importance as the creator of intellectual impulse. Unless we mistake greatly, the minister does not, as formerly, set the standard for the intellectual life of his parish. This, of course, is to some degree explicable from the new importance to which other social agencies, like the press and school, have risen. The pulpit does not stand today in the unique intellectual isolation that once it enjoyed. It finds that its influence is one among many, and it can never expect again to hold its old supremacy unshared. Public opinion is now quite as much the product of the daily press as of the pulpit. Only by furnishing the ideals by which all proposals are to be judged, and by training the church-going population to seek righteousness, can preachers, as a class, ever hope to rank among the leaders of intellectual progress. And here, in this realm of moral and religious instruction, there is boundless need

THE rank and file of church members are hopelessly ignorant of the teaching of scripture. They know what they should do to be saved, but they know too little about Christian edification. They know many texts that are invaluable means of bringing men to a knowledge of their Saviour, but they know practically nothing of Christian doctrine. Their knowledge of systematic theology is of a piece with that displayed by a prominent Young Men's Christian Association worker (who is today a most efficient pastor), who taught that the sins of the world were literally left by Jesus in the tomb. How many lay-workers in our churches

*THE PREACHER
LESS AN
INTELLECTUAL
LEADER*

*POPULAR
IGNORANCE
OF DOCTRINE*

could answer the questions in the Shorter Catechism, or begin to explain the content of a doctrine—we will say, of inspiration?

This ignorance would be less lamentable if it were not accompanied by a natural contempt for theological knowledge. To judge from the character of the most acceptable speeches at great conventions, the present generation of Christian workers cares more for enthusiasm and funny stories than it does for sober discussion. Doctrinal instruction is something to be tolerated on occasion, but generally is to be relegated to the class of things outgrown. So long as converts are numerous without doctrinal teaching, why trouble about it? And, after all, is not theology getting a little outgrown, and are not creeds getting out of date, and is not Paul improved by illustrative anecdotes?

MEN will know nothing of the teaching of Scripture just as long as preachers allow such ignorance to reign. There must be instruction before there is knowledge. The Sunday School has few teachers capable of performing the task, and if the pulpit does not supplement its evangelistic and social activity with genuine instruction in the doctrines of the Bible, the church will be simply an aggressive reform club. That it will do good is beyond question; that it will do harm is probable; that it will become less and less learned in the Scriptures is certain.

*THE DUTY OF THE
CLERGY*

There will be always men who are students of the word. These men search for truth in itself. Perhaps too frequently they are neglectful of the consequences of truth, perhaps sometimes they put forth as truth that which is but its shadow. But none the less do they and will they always search for that which is taught by Jesus.

Shall these men and those who follow them become teachers of an esoteric but true Christianity, while the mass of Christians, content with catchwords and half truths, attend to the active side of religion? That will be to divide the body of believers into those who act but do not think and those who think but do not act. And this result appears inevitable if the ministry does

not decide otherwise. The pastor is the one man who, because of his position, can make doctrine the incentive to action. An intelligent church is the offspring of a thinking pastor, and, if Paul is right, its renewed mind is the means by which it will gain a transfigured life.

THE effects of a more frequent presentation of the doctrines of Scripture will be felt both by pastor and people. Nor least among them will be the growth of a spirit of tolerance. Bigotry is generally the outgrowth of ignorance. The man who believes he has a monopoly of truth is a man who knows only a little truth. One of the greatest dangers that beset the church today is the tyranny of the "weak brother." Whether he be found in the pulpit or in the pew, his reign is calamitous. An opponent who understands one's own position may be trusted at least to argue, but the zealous man who neither understands nor wants to understand his opponent's position can be trusted only to denounce and intimidate. Such men would be immensely benefited by less exhortation and more instruction. If once they began to feel the difficulties attending the formal presentation of Christian truth and all exact definition; if they once learned of the myriad imperfect attempts men have made at expressing the wealth of biblical teaching in language, it is more than probable that they would feel something like tolerance for other men's views, and something like distrust in their own infallibility. All this is especially desirable for that freedom of thought among ministers which is needed in times of theological transition like our own.

And at the same time from an honest attempt at stating Christian truth, men would learn that rhetoric is a dangerous substitute for argument, and that the chances are against an epigram's being true. Figurative language would not be taken literally, hymns would not replace the gospels. And above all it would begin to be seen that in the search for truth, to ridicule an opponent and descend to personalities is to give public evidence of an unregenerate heart.

BUT more than this, is not intelligence in matters of faith a good thing in itself? And ought not the members of a Christian community to be informed at least as to the elements of the belief it professes? No permanent character can be built up on flag-waving and cheering. The present generation of Christians often gets restive under anything that does not increase *esprit de corps*. And resultful as enthusiasm is, it cannot long exist without knowledge. In some particulars the church is, it is true, more than ever instructor. It can interest the young with blackboard lessons, it can illustrate the stories of the Bible with a wealth of archæological and historical material. Let it add to these accomplishments a knowledge of the teaching of Jesus, of Paul, of John, not in scrappy bits but in something like completeness, and it will have a foundation for an even greater enthusiasm and a nobler perception of the real worth of divine truth.

NOR is this impossible. It would be easy to point to imperfections in Scotch and Puritan Christianity; but thanks to the doctrinal preaching of its pulpits, neither has failed in the production of generations of strong men and women. The great expository preachers have had similar effect upon the communities they touched. In many a town it is possible to see among its strong men the traces of some man, perhaps long since dead, who was not content to preach *about* the Bible, but preached the teachings it contained, and thus attracted men of thought as well as of action. Nor is the present without hopeful signs of a revival in virile doctrinal instruction. Instances are growing numerous in which clergymen are recognizing their responsibilities as leaders in religious thought, and have undertaken the conduct of special classes in Christian doctrine or the presentation of the cardinal truths of Christianity. And it is not too much to predict that in the same proportion as this exposition of doctrine extends, will those men of intelligence and culture, who have thus far held aloof from the church, prove more respectful towards its teachings, and its own members grow more convinced of the truth and rationality of the faith they profess.

PAUL BEFORE AGRIPPA.

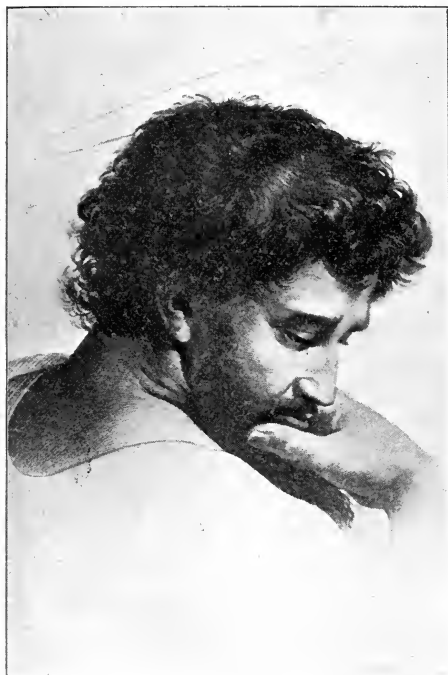
By THE REVEREND W. H. P. FAUNCE,
New York City.

Paul in Cæsarea.—Character and importance of the city in Paul's day.—A place of protection for the apostle.—The hearing before Agrippa—the attitude of Festus toward Paul.—The position and character of Agrippa II.—his sister Bernice.—An analysis of Paul's address on this occasion.—Accuracy and value of the records at this point.—Characteristics of the address.—The origin of his doctrine, and its relation to Judaism.—The interruption by Festus.—Paul's greatest recorded speech.

“He is a chosen vessel unto me, to bear my name before . . . kings.” Such is the divine description (Acts 9:15) of the career which opened to Saul of Tarsus on the Damascus road. He had already carried “the name” before Jewish Synagogues (Acts 13:16), mobs of frenzied fanatics (Acts 14:5; 17:6; 22:1), Roman prætors and procurators (Acts 16:22; 24:10), religious curiosity-seekers (Acts 17:17–22), and now he was to stand before a man who, “dressed in a little brief authority,” bore the actual title of “king.” We have to study the scene, the *dramatis personae*, and the *apologia* itself.

I. The Scene.—The once magnificent city of Cæsarea reveals its character in its name. It was the creation and the seat of Roman power in Palestine. That straight coast line, ever jealous of the sea, apparently resenting the intrusion of the smallest bay or gulf, exactly symbolized the attitude of Judaism toward the overshadowing pagan power in the west. There is no word in the Old Testament for “port,” and none was needed. But Cæsarea, made to order by Herod the Great, marked the official entrance and settlement of the imperial power on the sacred soil. If the book of Acts relates the progress of the gospel from Jerusalem to Rome, Cæsarea, in whose streets mobs of Jews and Gentiles often contended, lies in the center of the story. There Herod created a splendid harbor by throwing out a breakwater 200

feet wide, sinking enormous stones into the deep sea, a few of which are still left to interrupt the monotonous plashing of the waves on the deserted shore. There Herod erected, on raised ground, palace and temple, and theatre and amphitheatre, whose walls of white limestone gleaming in the sun were visible



ST. PAUL.
—RAPHAEL.

far out to sea. There he built the huge drains of which Josephus speaks. To the Jews Cæsarea was the gateway of Rome; to the Romans it was, so to speak, the *handle* of Palestine. Here Paul for two whole years was perfectly safe, when in Jerusalem he could not have lived a day. Farther down the coast lay intensely Jewish Joppa, orthodox and fanatical. But in Cæsarea lived Cornelius the centurion who combined the worship of Jehovah with loyalty to Rome, and in Cæsarea Peter with sudden accession of light cried out: "I perceive that . . .

in every nation he that feareth him, and worketh righteousness, is acceptable to him." Here also lived Philip the evangelist who dared to preach to the Samaritans (Acts 8 : 5), and to baptize the Ethiopian treasurer (Acts 8 : 38).

Did enlargement of view come to the apostle himself during his two years' residence under Roman detention and protection? The contrast between the letters to the Thessalonians and those to the Colossians and the Ephesians is the answer. Did he often pace up and down the battlements of the palace, gazing out over the western sea toward the churches whose "care" was upon

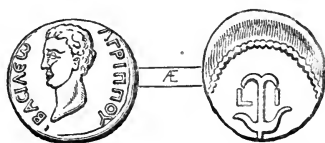
him daily? However he might chafe against the law's delay, he at least realized that he was safer in pagan hands than among worshipers of Jehovah! "Cæsarea was heathenism in all its glory at the very door of the true religion! Yes, but the contrast might be reversed. It was justice and freedom in the most fanatical and turbulent province of the world. In seeking separation from his people and an open door to the west, Herod had secured these benefits for a nobler cause than his own."¹

Amid such surroundings Paul was summoned into the "audience chamber" of the palace to speak before Agrippa. It was not another trial, no accuser was present. It was rather a preliminary investigation or examination (*ἀνάκρισις*) in order that Festus who honestly confessed his perplexity (*ἀπορούμενος δὲ ἐγώ*) might avail himself of Agrippa's "expert" knowledge of Jewish affairs, and have something definite to write to his "lord" at Rome (Acts 25: 26). With lavish display and true oriental pomp the procession streamed into the audience chamber, Festus, Agrippa and Bernice leading the way. Then followed the chiliarchs of the large garrison, resplendent in color and gleaming in helmets and coats of mail, and finally the chief citizens of Cæsarea, who wished to see the spectacle of royalty if not to hear the apostle. Before such an assembly, brilliant with military uniforms and royal robes, with the flashing of spear and shield and long obsequious retinue, the chained prisoner of the Lord was now led in. Was he familiar with the consoling word of Jesus: "Be not anxious how or what ye shall speak; for it shall be given you in that hour what ye shall speak?" (Matt. 10: 19.) As Festus was thinking of his "lord" and eager to please him, Paul was thinking of *his*. The difference in the men was really the difference in their "lords."

II. Of the chief persons concerned in this parade of authority we possess considerable knowledge. Porcius Festus, who had just become procurator (A. D. 60), and who died the year following, was a comparatively pure and upright man, and (like most of the Roman officials in the book of Acts) appears to great advantage in the story. Unlike his miserable predecessor,

¹ *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 141, by George Adam Smith.

Felix, he did not take bribes to prevent justice. Immediately on entering office he is besieged by the demand of the Jews that Paul be sent to Jerusalem for trial, but with wise caution refuses. He seems to have been prompt in action ("after three days," Acts 25 : 1, "on the morrow," 25 : 6, "I made no delay," 25 : 17,) resolute at least on occasion ("it is not the custom of the Romans," 25 : 16) and declares that to send this prisoner to Rome without evidence of guilt would be absurd (*ἄλογον*). He recognizes the genuine manliness of the apostle (*ἀνὴρ*, he calls him, while Agrippa says *ἄνθρωπος*), and declares that he has committed nothing worthy of death. With fine scorn he speaks of all this tumult of the Jews as merely a discussion of "certain questions of their own superstition," and declares that the whole uproar seems to be "about a certain Jesus, a dead man, whom Paul affirmed to be living still."



A coin of Agrippa II. From F. W. Madden's Jewish Numismatics.

Obv. A portrait of Agrippa II., with the legend ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥ[Σ] ΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ (of King Agrippa). Rev. An anchor.

Agrippa II., son of the Agrippa I. who perished so miserably in this very city (12 : 23), and great grandson of Herod the Great, was worthy of his ancestors, and like them a suppliant for the favor of the Jews on the one side and the Romans on the other. The voice of Rachel weeping for the innocents of Bethlehem, and the superstitious fears of his great uncle who murdered John the Baptist, might well haunt the dreams of Agrippa II. When his father died the young prince was but seventeen years of age, and was therefore kept for a time with Claudius at Rome, while various procurators did their best to curb and govern the fiery Jewish temper. In A.D. 48 he became ruler of the little province of Chalcis, with power to nominate the High Priest and to superintend the temple in Jerusalem. In A.D. 52 he acquired also the tetrarchies of Philip and Lysanias, and the coveted title of king. His

religion was the cloak to his ambition, and his cynical answer to Paul's burning appeal makes us wonder how the apostle could say: "I know that thou believest." Was the ardent wish the father to the thought? Certainly the man who could aid Vespasian and Titus in the destruction of Jerusalem did not "believe the prophets in any way that could mould his life."

Bernice, the sister of Agrippa, and sister of the adulterous Drusilla as well, had since the death of her husband lived with her royal brother, "not without suspicion of infamy," says Tacitus. To her the whole scene in the Cæsarean palace, and the address of Paul may well have been the novelty and recreation of a leisure hour, a curious but meaningless performance.

III. The address itself proceeds as follows:

- 1 Introduction *ad hominem*, gracefully acknowledging that Agrippa is a "connoisseur" in Jewish customs and disputes. 26:2, 3
- 2 The publicity of the apostle's career hitherto. (*Cf.* Savon-rola: "My secrets have been few because my purposes were great.") 26:4, 5
- 3 The faith of Paul identical with essential, original Judaism. 26:6, 7, 8
- 4 Autobiographical sketch embracing:
 - a* His former inner antagonism to Jesus ("many things contrary"). 26:9
 - b* His outward hostility, including imprisonment, casting his vote as member of the Sanhedrin against them, endeavoring to make them blaspheme, and chasing them even to cities outside the pale of Judaism. 26:10, 11
 - c* His official journey (with authority and commission) to Damascus. 26:12
 - d* The great Christophany so vividly remembered. 26:13, 14
 - e* The great commission, not now from any "priests," but from the risen Christ. 26:15-18
 - f* His record as a preacher ("I have stood unto this day testifying"). 26:19-22
 - g* The content of the preaching (1) a Christ "subject to suffering," (2) a Christ who by resurrection brings light to Jew and Gentile. 26:23
 - h* The interruption by the king and the apostle's final pathetic appeal. 26:24-29

However much room we allow in the report of this speech for the embellishments of the reporter, the composition yet bears

the vivid impress of original fact. It is the most valuable summary of the apostle's life and his relation to his mission which we possess. In this address he was not disturbed by any howling mob as in the "speech on the stairs" (Acts 22:22), but was heard courteously until he neared the end. He was not seeking to divide a jury against itself, as in Acts 26:6. He was not pleading for his life. All allusions to himself are simply to make it clear that he is no criminal, but is pursuing a course from which Rome has nothing to fear, and in which Judaism ought to see its own realization and fulfilment. A few characteristics of the address we may note.

It clothes its bold conviction in forms of exquisite courtesy. Urbanity is not an Old Testament virtue. Israel's greatest prophets were children of the wilderness, scorning the soft clothing of kings' houses and the conventionalities of courts. Moreover, Paul was himself by nature "proud, unbending, unsociable, self-assertive, a strong soul, invading, enthusiastic" (Renan). But here without a trace of flattery, he declares himself "happy" to stand before Agrippa, and in his most impassioned moment does not forget the official title of Festus, "your excellency" (vs. 25). Not a word of accusation or reproach does he utter. The same tenderness appears as when he arrived at Rome—"not that I have aught to accuse my nation of."

The whole narrative is sharp and vivid, and filled with picturesque detail. Paul "stretched forth his hand," the hand which had so often ministered to others' necessities (Acts 20:34), the hand which wrote in great black letters the closing sentences to the churches of Galatia (Gal. 6:11). In the conditional form "If God doth raise the dead" (vs. 8), we seem to hear the very echoes of the great debate. The apostle pictures his own revengeful feeling (*τιμωρῶν*). Every detail of the great Christophany is imprinted on his mind. He was journeying to Damascus "on this errand;" the time was "at the middle of the day;" the sudden light was "above the splendor of the sun" and was shining "along the road;" immediately they were "all fallen down" and the voice spoke "in the Hebrew dialect." This whole passage is full of Hebraisms and bears the stamp of reality.

The apostle declares that his Christianity originated not from his "much study" (vs. 24) not from cunning argument, not from human authority, but in an immediate revelation of the risen Lord. The nature of the heavenly vision, and its relation to the appearances to the other disciples cannot here be discussed. The difference between a faith founded on logic or on documents and the Pauline faith is obvious.

Throughout the address Paul insists with tremendous earnestness that his new faith is harmonious and indeed identical with the original faith of Judaism. The "twelve tribes earnestly serving God night and day," are seeking the Messiah, and Paul has found what they seek. He cries in amazement: "Concerning this hope I am *accused by Jews*, O king!" "After the most rigid party in the natural worship" Paul had lived "from his youth up," and is now preaching "nothing but what Moses and the prophets did say should come." How to reconcile this with the apostle's scornful allusions to the law as "weak and beggarly elements" and his perception of the absolute opposition between Judaism and Christianity is an interesting question. Did he here become "to them that are under the law as himself under the law?" (1 Cor. 9:20.) But in 1 Tim. 1:1, Paul affirms that the faith of Timothy is essentially that which dwelt also in Lois and Eunice.

So emphatic does Paul become that at length Festus (whom the apostle was not addressing at all) bursts out: "Paul thou art mad" (hast a mania); thy many studies (in Moses and the prophets) have turned thy head." Again Paul asserts the publicity of the facts—"the whole history was not done in a corner," as the king well knows. Then Agrippa speaks with an ironical smile: "With a little effort thou art perhaps persuaded thou canst make me a Christian!" Doubtless the smile passed round the bejewelled circle of royalty and the assertion of eternal truth was answered with a jest. Then followed the lofty answer of the apostle, and the ruthless king broke up the sitting.

Thus we have in this chapter the noblest address of the Acts, courteous, graphic, tremulous with personal conviction, affirming that Christianity, instead of being at war with previous divine

revelation, a break with history, and the grand exception to law, is the culmination of all the past and the answer to the prayers of the fathers, and is "both to small and great," "to the people and to the Gentiles" the power that throughout the world and the ages can turn men "from darkness to light and from the power of Satan unto God."

FOUR TYPES OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT. III.

By PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE,
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THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

To whom written.—Its author possibly Apollos of Alexandria.—The vital question concerns the aim of the epistle.—Christianity as contrasted with Leviticalism.—Its superiority seen as respects the agents of revelation and redemption.—Jesus superior to prophets, angels, Moses, and Aaron.—He is the divine Son.—The significance of his humiliation.—Other teachings of the epistle: "Through an eternal spirit;" sanctification; perfection; faith; the Fatherhood of God.

SOME of the questions belonging to the *Introduction* of the Epistle bearing this name are at once important and debatable; especially these: who wrote it? and to whom was it written? The old title "The Epistle of the Apostle Paul to the Hebrews" no longer commands general acceptance. Most critics deny that Paul was its author, and not a few maintain that it was not addressed to Hebrews as its first readers. On the answer to the former of these questions depends whether we can regard this writing as containing a distinct type of Christian thought; on the answer to the latter our whole conception of its aim and meaning. Of course these questions cannot be gone into here. All one can do is to indicate his position. As to authorship I have no doubt that whoever wrote the Epistle, it was not St. Paul. The style, the characteristic ideas, the temperament, all point to a writer of a different training, cast of mind and religious experience. As to the destination of the Epistle, I am old fashioned enough to hold on to the hypothesis suggested by the title it bears in some ancient MSS. $\Pi\text{ΡΟ}\Sigma\text{ ΕΒΡΑΙΟΥ}\Sigma$, and, notwithstanding all that Von Soden, Weizsäcker and others have said to the contrary, to accept the view still maintained by Weiss and Beyschlag, that it was written for the benefit of a community of Hebrew Christians, resident either in Palestine or in some other

center where Jews abounded, *e. g.*, Alexandria or Rome. The other alternative, that the first readers were Gentile Christians who had become enamored of Jewish religious custom, seems to me to necessitate very far-fetched interpretations of many particular allusions, and to rob the writing of the significance which springs out of an urgent occasion. The earnest moral tone is intelligible if we assume that the aim is to prevent Hebrew Christians, tempted partly by outward tribulation, but chiefly by a lack of insight into the genius and glory of the Christian faith, from apostatizing to Judaism. On the other hypothesis it is difficult to see in the writing anything more than a piece of theological diletantism. I think, therefore that the present critical fashion will change, and that scholars ere long will come back to the old idea that this work is an Epistle, or if you will, a treatise, written for the benefit of Hebrew Christians in the religious condition indicated; when, can only be conjectured, but not improbably shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem.

It is an interesting, though not vital, question who, if not Paul, could have written so remarkable a writing, second to none in the New Testament for originality of thought and excellence of style? Apollos of Alexandria, Luther guessed, and though no ancient testimony can be cited in its support, a large and ever growing number of modern critics regard the suggestion with favor. The chief support for it is found in the Alexandrian air of the Epistle. In dialect and thought the writing reminds one of Philo, the famous Alexandrian Jew who flourished about the beginning of the Christian era, and whose works are an elaborate and curious attempt to blend into a harmonious system the religion of the Jews and the philosophy of Plato. One fresh from the study of Philo meets in the Epistle words and phrases with which he is already familiar. Philo's allegorical method of interpretation is paralleled in the section concerning the Melchizedec priesthood, and while Philo's pedantary is wholly absent there is an occasional echo of his theory of the universe, as in the distinction between the heavenly world as the place of realities, and the earthly as the place of shadows. As Apollos was a native of Alexandria, and a learned man, it is natural to think of him

as the author of a writing having such characteristics. But the point of importance is not to determine the name of the author but to note carefully the peculiarities of the literary production. Yet we must be careful not to exaggerate the importance of these. It is, for example, an extravagant assertion to say that only on condition of recognizing the author as a disciple of Philo can one understand the Epistle. It is possible to understand its main drift while keeping your mind in suspense on that question. It is best to commence the study of the Epistle tolerably uncommitted on the point; as you go along keeping your eye open to all clear traces, if any, of affinity with Philo, so that by the time you have arrived at the end of the book you may have at once a distinct conception of the main religious teaching and a probable opinion on the subordinate question as to the alleged connection between the author and the Alexandrine school of Jewish philosophy. That question, however interesting, is in no sense vital.

The vital question is, what is the aim of the Epistle and how does it accomplish its aim? My answer to that is in brief this: It is an apologetic treatise in epistolary form, meant to help Hebrew Christians who had no true insight into the nature and value of the Christian faith, while still bearing the Christian name. The author himself has a very definite conception of the *nature* and a very high estimate of the *value* of Christianity. He regards it as the perfect and therefore the final religion, and he regards it thus because he conceives it as the *religion of free, unrestricted access to God*. Herein, in his judgment, lies the great superiority of Christianity to Leviticalism. The veil between the holy and the most holy place in the tabernacle is for him the symbol of the inherent defectiveness of the earlier religion. God shuts himself up in a dark inaccessible shrine: that cannot be the perfect form of religion. When Christ comes, the veil is rent; the dark inaccessible abode of Jehovah passes away, and the high priest of the New Testament becomes what no high priest of Israel had ever been, a forerunner, going into a place whither we may follow him. *Πρόδρομος*, *forerunner* (Heb. 6:20), that is the key-word of the Epistle; and in the description of

Christianity as the religion of the better hope through which "we draw nigh to God" is to be found its dogmatic center (7:19).

Christianity the religion of free access, Leviticalism the religion of distant ceremonious relations; such is the radical contrast of the Epistle. This central vital contrast suggests the method of comparison as that which may serve the apologetic aim. Instead of saying and trying to prove, as we Westerns might, that Christianity is the absolute, ideally perfect religion, the author says and endeavors to prove in detail that Christianity, is the *better* religion, better than the earlier religion of the Jews in this, that, and the other respect, in all respects important and relevant to the question in hand. In carrying through the comparison he gives expression to thoughts which for one possessing requisite spiritual insight suffice to show that Christianity is not only the better but the best possible, the ideal religion as *e. g.*, when it is said that Jesus offered himself in sacrifice *through the Eternal Spirit*.

The comparison runs through several stages, beginning at the periphery and ending at the center. Christianity, it is taught, is superior to Leviticalism, or the old Hebrew religion, in respect, first, of the agents of *revelation*; second, of the agents of *redemption*. Under each of these general heads are specified two particulars so far as the old religion is concerned; under the first *prophets* and *angels*, under the second *Moses* and *Aaron*. Prophets and angels were both, as popularly conceived, agents of revelation. God spake to the fathers from time to time by the prophets, and in Jewish theology, as in three places of the New Testament (Heb. 2:2, Acts 7:53, Gal. 3:19), was assigned to angels the function of intermediaries between God and the people in the law giving. The law was the "word spoken by angels." The work of redeeming Israel on the other hand is conceived of as distributed between Moses and Aaron, the former being the historic captain of salvation who led God's chosen people from the house of bondage to the promised land, the latter the high priest who acted for the people in things pertaining to God and by his sacerdotal functions kept them in

right relations to God, especially by the ceremonial of the great day of atonement whereby he obtained an *annual* redemption for Israel.

Jesus is compared successively to all these mediators of the old religion, and triumphantly pronounced superior to them one and all; greater than prophets, greater than angels, greater than Moses, greater than Aaron; greater in the very respect in which they were by the Jews accounted and by the author admitted to be great. The contract is least emphatic in reference to the prophets, doubtless because the writer looked on them as belonging in spirit to the new dispensation rather than to the old legal one. Yet even here is a latent antithesis. It is hinted, if not obtrusively asserted, in the description of the prophetic revelation as a piecemeal multiform one (πολυμερῶς, πολυτρόπως, 1:1) suggesting that through Jesus Christ there came a revelation which was neither fragmentary nor tropical, but complete and real and therefore final. The superiority of Christ over angels is more vehemently asserted and elaborately proved, the proof winding up with an earnest appeal to give to Christ an amount of attention proportioned to his dignity (2:1-4). The emphasis here is to be understood in the light of contemporary Jewish theology, which assigned to angelic mediation in the natural world and in revelation a place of importance in excess of what was reasonable and wholesome. The writer of our Epistle is not to be understood as endorsing such views, but simply taking them into account in an argument addressed to readers under their influence.

For Moses and Aaron, especially for Moses, the writer had a deeper respect than for angels, whose rôle he probably in his heart regarded as greatly inflated, if not altogether imaginary. These two men were great historic realities, whose functions in behalf of Israel no thoughtful man would dream of disparaging. To Moses as the hero of the Exodus and as the legislator of the new-born nation he gives generous praise as a faithful servant of God. Yet he does not hesitate to set Jesus far above him as worthy of a greater glory (3:3). To exalt Jesus above Aaron was an easier matter. Moses eclipsed Aaron even in Jewish

esteem, and for our author he was incomparably the greater character, and his function the more vitally important. In his view Moses was one of the world's greatest men, and the Exodus was one of the greatest heroic achievements in human history. Aaron with his priestly robes and sacerdotal rites, was by comparison a third-rate figure, standing well in the background of the historic picture. Doubtless the ceremonial of the great day of atonement, which showed the high priest at his best was a very imposing affair, if only the work were well done. But there was the trouble. The whole thing was a mere show, not a real but a putative atonement, bearing fruit, even putatively, only for a single year. Comparison here was an indignity done to Christ; for what was the blood of goats and bulls to the sacrifice of one who through the Eternal Spirit offered himself without spot to God?

In these four comparisons, the superiority of Jesus is made to rest on one and the same foundation, that of *His Sonship*. In the end of the days, God spoke to men through One who had the standing of a Son (ἐν νίῳ, 1:1). Jesus is declared to be greater than angels in virtue of his Sonship. "Unto which of the angels said he at any time, thou art my Son" (1:5). The angelic function, throughout the Old Testament is one of service. "Are they not all (without exception), ministering spirits?" (1:14). Moses too was but a servant in God's house, a most faithful one, on God's own testimony. Moses was faithful as a *servant* but Jesus as a *Son*, and that made all the difference (3:5, 6). Aaron, finally, was also but a servant, and that, too, under the most abject form of servitude: a mere sacerdotal drudge, ever performing ceremonies which had no real value. Of this sacerdotal drudge, of the Levitical system, the writer at the end of his disquisition on Christ's priestly function, with deliberate intent, draws a vivid picture which a Christian eye contemplates with feelings wavering between contempt and pity. "Every priest *standeth daily ministering* and offering *oftentime* the *same* sacrifices which can *never* take away sin." Poor priest with his monotonous, never ending, fruitless toil. How thankful will he be when death comes to relieve him. Compare with this sacerdotal

drudge the great High Priest of humanity who, having by one great act of voluntary sacrifice perfected forever them that are sanctified, sitteth on the right hand of God. He is no mere priestly drudge but one whose native position is that of a Son. "Jesus the Son of God" (4:14), who, though a Son, learned obedience through suffering (5:8), and who after his passion endured with loyal freedom "is consecrated forever more" (7:28), an Eternal Priest in whom the ideal of priesthood is realized.

These four contrasts, of themselves, apart from any express Christological statements, imply a high conception of Christ as the Son. The Sonship of Christ is held to be a guarantee of itself, for a revelation which shall be perfect, therefore final. In the end of the days God spake by a Son: that is enough. No more needs to be said. The rationale of this is that Sonship involves likeness and intimacy. He that knoweth the Son knoweth the Father, and the Son knows all that is in the Father's mind. Sonship sets Christ above angels, however high they may be in the scale of being and in function, because the Son is begotten, while angels, like all other creatures, are made, and, as the heir of his Father, is destined to sit on a throne and be an object of homage to the universe, angels not excepted; Sonship exalts Christ far above Moses, because however high his position in God's house, it can at best be only that of a servant, whereas the Son is over the house as its Master or Lord. Finally, Sonship places Christ as a priest on a different category from Aaron, though he, in his way, was a great personage in Israel's history. To find its analogue you must go out of the Levitical priesthood and go back to the more ancient type of Melchisedec, the *royal* priest, whose priesthood depended not on ancestry, but arose out of his regal dignity, and was exercised in free, gracious condescension through acts of beneficence and blessing.

But the writer is not content with suggesting through such contrasts a lofty conception of the Person of Christ. At the very outset, having referred to the Son, he proceeds forthwith to unfold his idea of the position of the Son in relation to God and the universe. The result is a sublime picture of the Son as the radiance of the Divine Glory and the exact image of the Divine

Essence, as of a seal stamped upon wax, and as maker and sustainer of the universe whereof also he is heir and Lord. The place thus assigned to the Son is as exalted as that of the Logos in the system of Philo which may have exercised an influence on the delineation, and in the New Testament the only thing that can be compared with this Christological statement is the prologue of the Fourth Gospel. For the writer of our Epistle Christ is a Divine Being possessing the properties, the power, and the majesty of Deity.

But how could so august a being have an experience of temptation and suffering like that of Jesus? In that direction lay one of the chief perplexities of the Hebrew Christians for whom the Epistle was written. They could not reconcile the humiliation of *Jesus* with the dignity of *Christ*. The solution of that problem was one of the tasks our author had to face. He deals with it in a masterly way, especially in the passage 2:9-18. The principle of his solution is that humiliation and glory are not mutually exclusive, not an absolute but only a relative antithesis; there can be glory even in the humiliation. So it was in the case of Jesus. His temptations and sufferings were but incidents in the honorable career of the Captain of salvation, like the wounds received by a general in a great battle out of which he comes triumphant. So far from being a disgrace to the Christ and the Son to endure such experiences, it was a grace and favor shown to him by God to give him the opportunity of passing through them in connection with his high vocation (2:9). To suffer may be humbling, but to suffer for others? That may be glorious. It depends on the cause on which you suffer. The salvation of men is a God-worthy *end*; the method of captaincy is a good *method*. The method involves that the leader shall be like the led in nature and experience; a *man*, and a *man* of *sorrow*, sharing the dangers of the way, and the more like in experience the better a captain he will be, the more sympathetic and comrade-like and the more trusted by those who follow. Therefore "it became him for whom are all things, and by whom are all things, in bringing many sons unto glory, to make the Captain of their salvation perfect through suffering" (2:10).

Such, in substance is the writer's rationale of the earthly

experience of Christ which has been a stumbling block to Hebrew Christians. The apologetic occasion led him to lay stress on aspects of that experience not much insisted on by Paul. In the Epistle to the Hebrews the sufferings of Christ appear as a discipline by which he acquired the sympathy which is viewed as the great source of power both to a captain like Moses and for a priest like Aaron. But this is not a full account of the teaching of our Epistle on the subject of Christ's sufferings and their significance. Great thoughts occur here and there casting sudden flashes of deep insight on that central theme. Among these a foremost place is due to that in which it is declared that sanctifier and sanctified are all of one (2:11), and that other in which Jesus is represented as offering himself a sacrifice *through an eternal spirit* (9:14). The former enunciates the principle of redemption, the latter explains the infinite efficacy of redemption achieved. Solidarity between sanctifier and sanctified: one in all possible respects, the more the better, the one radical difference of holy and unholy always excepted; the more points of contact the greater the sanctifying power. This is essentially the same idea we meet with in Paul's Epistles. "Through an eternal spirit," a profoundly suggestive phrase in the interpretation of which theologians are not agreed, but which, in my mind has ever been associated with certain broad thoughts that help me to understand the value of Christ's self-offering as compared with Levitical victims. First of all Christ's offering was an affair of *spirit* and not merely of blood-shedding. It expressed a *mind* on the part of the victim and thereby it differed *toto coelo* from all Levitical sacrifices. Then, though it is not said, it goes without saying, that that mind had certain moral characters. Jesus offered *himself*. Therefore the mind expressed in his sacrifice was *free, loving and holy*, a mind of highest moral value in the sight of God and of men. But neither of these attributes is used to qualify the spirit in which Jesus offered himself to God. The epithet selected is "eternal." It is a favorite epithet with the writer. He uses it again and again, applying it to all things pertaining to the Christian religion with a view to teach that Christianity is the eternal religion. He speaks of an "eternal salvation," an "eternal redemption," an "eternal inheritance," an "eternal covenant,"

and here of an "eternal spirit." The epithet in this place serves the purpose of raising the sacrifice of Christ above the limits of time. Spirit is in its nature eternal, and the sacrifice of Christ as a spiritual transaction has an efficacy and value valid for all time; for the time that went before the Christian era, as well as for all time after. It is not a mere historical event that had no influence before it took place, and that after it happened exercised an influence destined to wane with the lapse of ages. It is an eternal fact that has absolute value for God from everlasting to everlasting. Thus interpreted the phrase "through an eternal spirit" exhibits on the part of the writer an ethical and philosophical insight which places him on the highest level of Christian thought. Nothing better, truer, more penetrating, or more felicitous has been said or can be said on the subject.

Before leaving the topic of Soteriology some peculiarities in the phraseology of our Epistle as compared with the Apostle Paul may be briefly noted. One is the sense in which the word "sanctify" is used. In Paul's Epistles the word is used in an ethical sense = to make holy in heart and life. In our Epistle, I think, the word is used occasionally in this sense. But in some passages, it bears the sense: to put in right covenant relations, as in 10:14: "By one offering he hath perfected forever them that are sanctified." The "sanctified," in this theocratic sense are equivalent to Paul's "justified." In 2:11 I think the word *ἀγιαζόμενοι* should be taken in both senses. The principle: "Sanctifier and sanctified one" holds good under both aspects. Another very prominent word in the Epistle is "to perfect." This is sometimes used in a sense equivalent to Paul's "justify," as where it is affirmed of the Levitical sacrifices that they could not perfect (*τελειῶσαι*) the worshiper as to conscience, *i. e.*, give him a complete sense of forgiveness. In general the word means "to reach the end," and the specific sense depends on the nature of the end contemplated in any given case. Thus perfecting as applied to Christ in 2:10 signifies to make him a thoroughly fit Captain of Salvation, and the way by which the end is supposed to be reached is a curriculum of temptation and suffering through which are fostered the qualities requisite in a captain: heroic patience, sympathy, and the like. Finally *faith* is a great word

in our Epistle, as in the Pauline literature, but its use here is not quite the same as there. In the Pauline system, faith has two functions: it receives the righteousness of God and it works through love toward personal holiness. In our Epistle the former function is not in evidence; where we should expect faith, we find obedience, as in the text: "He became the author of eternal salvation to all them that obey him" (5:9). The nearest approach to the peculiar Pauline sense of justifying faith is in 10:22: "Let us draw near with a true heart in full assurance of faith," where faith signifies confident expectation of welcome for Christ's sake. The other function of faith as a power making for personal righteousness, is especially prominent in chapter 11, where it is exhibited in a series of instances as helping men to make their lives sublime, through its magical virtue in transforming the future into a present and the unseen into a thing visible.

The doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the Sonship of men, so central in Christ's own teaching, are by no means prominent in our Epistle. They do appear, but chiefly in the concluding hortatory section. In the doctrinal part the Fatherhood of God is referred to or implied mainly in reference to the Sonship of Christ. In the hortatory section, God is called "the Father of Spirits" (12:9), and it is taught that he has for his supreme aim in all his dealings with his children to make them partakers of his holiness (12:10). While the Sonship of believers is not strongly asserted, or, as in the Pauline letters, notably formulated, the privilege of sonship is adequately covered by the great conception of Christianity as the religion of free access. Believers have free entry into the Father's house, and are the house and family of God. And the duty is inculcated upon them of realizing their privileges in the spirit of sonship. The one great counsel of the writer to his readers is *draw near*. That believers are the brethren of Christ and therefore by implication the Sons of God, is beautifully taught in the words put into the mouth of the sanctifier—citations from the Old Testament scriptures, all showing that he is not ashamed to call them brethren. It is with this brotherhood between Jesus and Christians in view that those who are being led to glory by the Captain of Salvation are called *Sons* (2:10).

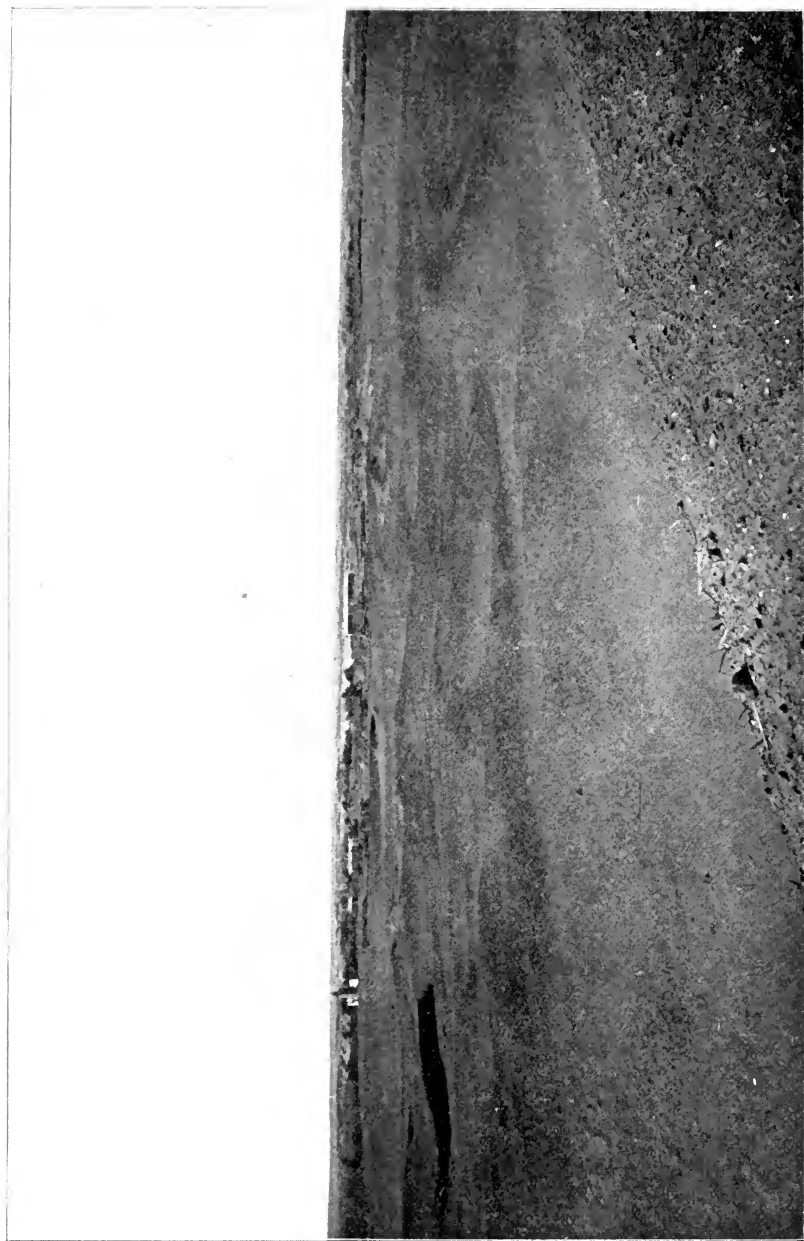
MOSES: HIS AGE AND HIS WORK.

II.

By REV. PROFESSOR NATHANIEL SCHMIDT, PH.D.,
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The birth and early history of Moses.—His faith in the deliverance of his people.—Did he write the Law?—A child of his age.—The creator of Israel and Israel's relation to Yahweh.—What this original Israel was.—Who was Yahweh?—Moses' death.—The relation of natural law and individual influence seen in Moses' work in Israel.—Behind and within all is God.

Mosheh ben Amram was in all probability born in Sopd, the twentieth nome in Lower Egypt, whose capital a Denderah list calls Kosem, the Goshen of the Bible, Ptolemy's *Ἀραβίας νομός*, in the beginning of the century, during the reign of Ramessu II. (1348–1281). His name is Egyptian. It may originally have been theophorous like Dehutomose, “offspring of Dehuti.” Egyptian names can scarcely have been less common on the Erythræan than they had been for generations in Syria. Phinehas is another instance in the immediate family. His parents, were, no doubt, Semites. Since time immemorial these regions had been the haunts of Semitic tribes. I have elsewhere (*Hebraica*, Vol. x.) attempted to prove that the *Aperiu* of the Egyptian monuments and the Ibru Naharan of Minæan inscription (Halévy 535) may have belonged to the large family of nations including, besides Moab and Ammon, Edom and Israel, many Mesopotamian and Arabic tribes which the Eponym lists of Genesis designate as descendants of Eber or Hebrews. As a rule these strangers seem to have lived their own life uninfluenced by the language, customs and religion of the natives. Occasionally, however, they would be pressed into service. It is intrinsically probable that some of them were employed in the building of Pi Tum, the modern Tell el Maskhuta, by Ramessu



MOUNDS FORMED OF THE RUINS OF PI TUM—POSSIBLY ONE OF THE CITIES BUILT BY THE HEBREWS.

II. The native records show with sufficient clearness that the Egyptian taskmasters did not distinguish themselves by extraordinary gentleness.

It may have been early in the reign of Mer-en-Ptah (1281-69) that some fresh outrage, some act of cruelty and injustice, by one of the Egyptian officials, brought Moses, still a young man, out into the light of history. Incensed at the man's conduct he slew him, but was in consequence forced to betake himself, a homicide and a fugitive from justice, to his kinsmen on the Sinaitic peninsula. The event was decisive in two directions. A man cannot shed another man's blood in defense of a member of his tribe straightway to forget the incident, least of all would this be possible for a Semite. On the other hand, the affair brought Moses into a new social and religious *milieu*. Cain and Midian occupied the shores of the Akabah and their pastures reached into the mountains of Et Tor. Three of their priestly chiefs, Reûel, Hobab and Jethro became related to Moses by marriage. Their social organization conformed to the best traditions of the desert. Whether they had yet been influenced by the kingdom of Main, is uncertain. The Hebrew accounts force upon us the conviction that they were Yahweh worshipers. Our earliest Judæan chronicler knows well that Cain (the Kenite) since earliest times has offered sacrifices to Yahweh, and all accounts agree that Midianite priests worshiped Yahweh at the holy mount, and that Moses had his first revelation of Yahweh in "the land of Midian." "Yahweh-nisi," probably the modern El Maharrat, Horeb, probably the modern Jebel Aribah and Sinai, probably the modern Ras Sufsafeh, seem to have been their chief shrines. Circumcision was one of their sacred rites. Sipporah, daughter of a Midianite priest, rebuked Moses for neglecting it, Ex. 4:24. According to Exodus 18 Moses learned from Jethro the use of the *torah*, or the oracular decision by the casting of lots. The Yahweh sign that Cain wears is probably a mark between his eyes such as the prophet rebuking Ahab covered by a bandage.¹ Yahweh may not have been the only god worshiped by Midian and Cain, nor these the only nations worshipping him.

¹ Cf. Stade, ZAW, XIV., II, p. 250 ff.

There was a Briti Yah in Palestine in the sixteenth century.¹ But had Moses learned the Yahweh cult in Palestine, tradition would not have forgotten it.

Upon the Sinaitic mountain tops, his home, Yahweh revealed himself to Moses. He saw his glory in the heavenly fire; he heard his voice in the thunder; the storm-clouds were his Kerubim, the lightnings were his seraphim. At last there came to him on Horeb, by some sacred tree, illumined strangely by the fire from heaven, a message to his inmost soul to go back into Goshen on the twofold errand of making Yahweh known and delivering his people. It was the prophet's call. It was a real ecstatic experience, like that of David under the *baka*-tree, Elijah on the mountain, Isaiah in the temple, Ezekiel on the Khebar, Jesus in the Jordan, Paul on the Damascus road. It was the perpetual mystery of the divine touching the human.

From time to time news must have reached him of how his brethren fared in Goshen. Mer en Ptah repelled the northern invaders, kept close guard on the eastern frontier, renewed the treaty with the Hittite king, aided his Syrian subjects in a famine, and slept with his fathers. He was followed by his son, Seti II. (1269-1267), and he again by Amen-mose (1267-1262), an usurper. Whether his successor, Si Ptah (1262-1259), was likewise an usurper, as Meyer thinks, or a son of Seti I., as Wiedemann assumes, is doubtful.

It was probably in the time of Si Ptah that Moses returned to Egypt to deliver his people. His appeal to them in the name of Yahweh to throw off the yoke met with no hearty response; and his stratagem to be able to pass the border on a royal leave of absence by urging upon the king the necessity of celebrating the pesah feast in the desert would, no doubt, under ordinary circumstances have proved a dismal failure, and even as it was could not be carried out. But a series of calamities of the kind that the Nile Valley is especially exposed to, culminating in an outbreak of pestilence, conspired to make the plan of escape successful. Political disaffection also seems to have helped to further the movement and to swell the rebel ranks. From vari-

¹ W. Max Müller, *loc. cit.*, pp. 162, 312.

ous parts of the Eastern Delta they come, slaves from Pi Tum, citizens from Heliopolis, as Manetho's story suggests, herdsmen from Goshen, with their families and their cattle. From bondage and oppression, from plague that spared neither high nor low, they fled in the direction of Lake Timzah, as it would appear, robbing and plundering as they went. Moses at first attempted to escape "by the way of the Philistines," as a later writer has it, *i. e.*, in a northeasterly direction. The report of a pursuing army led them, however, to pass southward along the Bitter Lakes, possibly in the hope of gathering reinforcements or of avoiding an immediate direct conflict in the Mokattam Mountains. This, unfortunately, drove them into a *cul de sac* between the mountains and the sea, with the pursuers in the rear. It was a critical position, if any in the history of a nation. Darkness fell upon a scene of utter confusion and despair.

But the faith of one man did not waver, the man who had communed with Yahweh on the mountain. In the darkness of the night he heard a sound that no one understood but he. An east wind had begun to blow. It grew until it was a gale. It chased the shallow waters south of the Bitter Lakes, that centuries later Nekau deepened into a canal, and finished the work begun by the receding tide. A passage could be effected. Major Palmer, deriving much information from Captain J. S. Murray, a close observer of the winds and tides in the Gulf of Suez, says in his work on Sinai, now revised by Professor Sayce¹: "The true direction of this wind was probably from a point to the north of east. The direct effect of such a wind upon the water in the channel and the lakes, or tongue of sea to the northward, would be inconsiderable. But its indirect influence on the level of the shallow water in the channel, already lowered by the ebbing tide, would before long be very marked. A northeasterly gale, on reaching Suez, would thence be drawn down between the high ranges which bound the gulf on either hand in such a manner as to change its direction from northeast to north and even a little west of north. It would gather strength as it advanced, and by its action on an ebb-tide produce so great an

¹*Sinai*, p. 169.

out-draught of water from the upper part of the gulf that there would be an abnormally low tide; while so long as the wind remained northerly and strong, the return of the usual flood-tide would, for a time at least, be prevented." The moon did not rise until near midnight. As soon as the light permitted, the pursuers followed. But their chariots were caught in the seaweed and the returning tide drowned horse and rider.

A wonderful deliverance had been wrought; the enemy completely routed, the people safe upon the eastern shore. And it was the work of Yahweh. His wind had blown the entire night; the angry waves had felt his breath and vanished. To him the song was sung, the song of redemption, Ex. 15: 21. "Sing ye to Yahweh, for he has greatly glorified himself." "The horse and his rider hath he overthrown into the sea." Delivered by Yahweh the people can no longer doubt his power, and his servant Moses is willingly followed as he directs the march towards the mountain home of his god. Skirting the Jebel et Tih they touch again the gulf at El Merkha, the wilderness of Sin. Here hunger creates rebellion. But the authority of Moses and the faith in Yahweh are saved by an opportune flight of quails and by the *man* exuding from the *tarfah* tree, the use and nutritive value of which Moses was able to indicate. The Egyptian garrisons at Sarabit el Khadim and Maghara may not have been very dangerous at this time. As they marched up Wady Feiran they were destined to meet more formidable enemies. First a water famine, than which few things have more terror for the nomad. A supply of water was obtained, however, probably at Hesy el Khittatin, where Moses, struck with his staff a place where from a rocky surface a stream gushed forth. A worse foe awaited them before they reached the oasis. This glorious valley belonged to the Amalekites. Here were their pasture grounds and homes. To defend their own they had drawn together their forces. At Rephidim, perchance in the neighborhood of the modern Jebel et Tahunch, it came to conflict. The Amalekites fought, as only Arabs can, for their beloved wadies. But they could not prevail against the fierce invaders who for the first time battled for their God, the won-



MOUNT SINAI.

derful deliverer and supporter. Wady Feiran was lost to them, and bloody sacrifices on the altar of "Yahweh Nisi" sealed vows of everlasting hatred for the nation that had been bold enough to defend their homes against the invading hosts and their mightier God. The victory also brought the Midianites around, and from his more experienced kinsmen Moses received much valuable help, both in regard to the social organization of the people and the proper worship of Yahweh. For the last purpose chiefly they marched together to Mount Sinai.

On the plain of Er Rahah the people encamped over against Ras Safsafah. There was the mountain that might be touched rising steeply before them to a height of about 2000 feet. When, in Palæozoic times, this region emerged as an island from the sea, that Nubian sandstone with its warm tints of brown and red heaped itself on the gneissic rocks of myrtle green streaked with dikes of purple, black, and other sombre hues. A majestic pile, a temple of dazzling beauty, lifting its pinnacles to the blue dome of heaven, in the eternal stillness of the desert! But presently the sky is overcast with clouds, lightnings surround the mountain, peal upon peal of thunder reverberates among the rocks. These are the manifestations of Yakweh's presence. Stout hearts are terrified amid these giant structures and this awful play of mysterious forces. But one there is who knows no fear, the man who stood between the mountains and the sea and the Egyptian hosts, calmly expecting Yahweh's help. Alone he climbs the highest peak to meet his God; alone he dwells for days with him in holy converse. While his own flesh and blood beneath the mountain cannot yet rise above the grossest symbolism, he sits in solitude with the invisible. What passed between the God of Sinai and his devotee, nay, better, between the Eternal Father and his child, we know it not. It is his secret. When he returned a light shone on his countenance, the light that evermore illumines the face of him who lives with God.

Tradition says that in his hands he held two stones, afterwards kept within the ark. Was there a writing on these stones? Could Moses write? This question is not easily answered. The Egyptians, Babylonians and Hittites had their systems of writing

and their scribes who knew the art. In Palestine, while under Egyptian rule, the Amorites had scribes acquainted with Babylonian script and language. Assyria, Mitani and other kingdoms likewise had adopted the cuneiform characters, and a modification of the Hittite hieroglyphics was early introduced in Cyprus. On the other hand, no Aramaic or Chaldaean inscriptions from this age have yet been found, and it is almost certain that in spite of their achievements in other arts the men of Mycenæ, Tiryns, Orchomenos, and Troy knew not how to write their own euphonious names¹. Whether the Minæan inscriptions date back to this time is yet a mooted question; and even if citizens of Main knew the alphabet, it is far from certain that Midian had acquired the knowledge. It is said that Moses may have learnt the art in Egypt. But Egyptian hieroglyphics written by him would have been as unintelligible in the Israel of the next century as they were to the European nations of the last. When the alphabet was introduced among the Semites and how it originated we do not know. The earliest alphabetic inscriptions, aside from the Minæan possibly, are Hiram's of Tyre, of the tenth century, Mesa's of Moab, and the elder Panamu's of Yaudi, of the ninth. Many signs seem to show that the alphabet had been in use for some time then.² But the wedge-shaped characters were still employed in the fourteenth century in Palestine. In spite of our growing knowledge of this age we lack the necessary data for determining whether Israel learnt how to write in Palestine or brought this useful art from the desert to the civilized Amorites who once had known how to use the cuneiform characters. The former supposition still remains most probable. But many a song and saying may have been written down at an early date after the invasion. Thus, even if Moses could not write himself, or only in a manner unintelligible to his people in the coming generations, words that he uttered may have been learned by heart and more or less accurately written down afterwards.

¹The spindles with inscriptions noticed by Sayce in Schliemann's *Ilios*, p. 766, ff. were probably imported from Cyprus.

²W. Max Muller, *loc. cit.*, p. 169, has skilfully demonstrated that Shoshenq's list was drawn from a Semitic original already written alphabetically.

Withal, this mighty seer was a child of his own age. It is pathetic to a degree to observe how in yielding to his people's demand that they be brought from these barren, rugged solitudes to some place more suitable to tastes developed in the settled life of Egypt, his soul is wrestling with the awful thought that Yahweh cannot leave his mountain home. How deep is his attachment to his Saviour-God! Only the fiction of a *Malak* Yahweh, which may be the creation of his own struggling faith, could reconcile him to the necessity of departing. The ark, probably like the Egyptian "ark of Ma," the Babylonian *parakku*, made of *sittah*-wood (Acacia seila) that grows around Sinai, with its tent reminding of "the sacred tent" of another Semitic people, the Carthaginians, may have owed its origin to the same feeling. As in the case of "the messenger," now referred to as Yahweh, now as a being different from him, so the ark also is in an ancient song of the wilderness addressed as Yahweh. "Up, Yahweh!" Israel sung to the ark before the battle. "Return, O Yahweh," was the song when the ark was brought back.

Yet, after all, what treasures Moses brought away from Sanai! He had given to his people Yahweh. The fears and the hopes, the gratitude and the pride, the love and the adoration of these tribes were now concentrated with greatest intensity upon a single God. In the soul's communion with him upon the mountain, lightning and thunder, but no earthly image, symbolized his presence. However important the cult may have appeared—and it was in the fire of the altar and the cloud of ascending smoke that "the angel" led the way—the will of Yahweh was, above all, that right be done and moral wrong be shunned. This is the Mosaic foundation on which the later prophets stood. This is the germ from which our Christian faith has sprung.

From the sacred mountain the people marched toward the Akabah, touching at Ain, but settling permanently only when they had captured Ain Kadis, Kadesh or En Mishpat, where the sacred fountain was. This became their new center. Here Moses gave the world his second gift, Israel. Before the gates of Kadesh swept the mightiest movements of the age. The Palestinian

Arsu, who in 1255 usurped the throne of Egypt, may have come this way with his hosts. Soon after Shulmanasharid I. marched with his Assyrians past this holy place to Mutsri. It is possible that a little to the east of Kadesh Yadiyatha, King of Main, fought with the northern conquerer. About 1230 the Aryan swarms fell upon Palestine and rushed past Kadesh on to Egypt. Ramessu III. seems to have met and defeated them not far from here. This formative period in Israel's history is prophetic of its future destiny. Between the struggling kingdoms of the East and the West, the North and the South, it must unfold its own peculiar theocratic life. That Israel belongs to Yahweh, this is the theocratic thought, and this is Moses' own conception. There would have been no Israel but for this thought. Yisrael means El fights, but the El who fights for Moses' people is Yahweh.

What constituted this original Israel? We cannot say with certainty. But the consciousness that the tribes of Dan and Naphtali, Gad and Asher¹, do not belong to Israel in the same sense as the others is clearly expressed in the fact that they are made in Genesis sons of the concubines, and not the wives, of Jacob. Benjamin is also said to have been born in later time in Palestine. Some scholars² hold that the six Leah tribes and Joseph formed a league of seven tribes, with their religious and political center for awhile in Kadesh. The tribe of Joseph, however, that settled earlier than his brothers in the Egyptian borderland, never returned to Palestine. His place is taken by Ephraim who, according to the song of Deborah, had his root in Amalek and Manasseh. Where Judah had "his root" we would be fain to know. The Amarna tablets point to Northern Syria, and in Patina-Padam there was a kingdom called Yaudi, whence the Sinjirli inscriptions have come. The separation of Judah from his brothers complained of in a later time by the blessing of Jacob, runs back so far as history can see. And yet there was probably an early point of contact. Was this at Kadesh? Wherever the elements may have come from—and the political

¹ Asher was settled on the Mediterranean coast already in the time of Dehuti-mose III.; and Asherite clans appear in the Amarna tablets.

² So Wellhausen, *Israelitische und Jüdische Geschichte*, p. 12.

storms of the century would naturally drive apart and draw together nations—under the master-hand of Moses Israel was blended into a nation. By the sacred fountain he gave oracles and held the clans together, while they sought pasture grounds far and wide, made their raids into the Negeb, and sent their spies to regions further north. For Palestine to them as to many other nomads was the land of desire, the land their hearts and oracles promised them.

A favorable opportunity came. The northern invasion had crushed the power of the Hittites. Ramessu III. had indeed raided Palestine, but could not hold it in subjection. The Amorites were free for a moment to extend their territory. East of the Jordan, where Moab and Ammon had dwelt, Sihon founded a kingdom with Heshbon for its capital, and Og another kingdom north of that in Bashan, with Edrei for its chief city. Whether these Amorites came over from the other side the Jordan or invaded from the north, is impossible to determine. How this impressed the little Hebrew kingdoms of Moab and Ammon, now driven south of the Arnon, may easily be imagined. At this juncture the Israelites came as if they had been sent for. No doubt in league with their nearer kinsmen, the Israelites attacked the king of Heshbon and took the city, as an ancient song bears witness, and it seems probable that soon after the king of Bashan likewise succumbed. Thus Israel took his place beside his older brothers east of the Jordan, *ca.* 1210, B. C.

Was this to be the end? The Israelitish tribes reaping the fields they had not sown, drinking the wine of Heshbon, gathering the balms of Gilead, establishing themselves in the strong cities of Bashan, may well have thought so. But there was one who could not yet be satisfied, whose zeal for Yahweh and for Israel drove him in restless longing to the mountain peaks of Moab, whence his eagle eye could see the land beyond the Jordan, the snowy brow of Hermon, the templed hills, the sacred terebinths, the sea where the sun sets. There, too, the mighty deeds of Yahweh must be known; those hills and dales must once belong to Israel. He was alone, as long ago he was at Horeb when first he heard the voice of Yahweh; alone as in his stalwart

faith he was upon the shore of the Red Sea; alone as many a time when in the sacred tent he laid the burdens a hard-hearted people made him bear, upon his God; alone at last on Pisgah. From Horeb he went forth to Egypt, from the divine presence to the work of deliverance. From Sinai he came down to give divine instruction to his people. From Pisgah's top he never came. No man could ever point a stranger to his tomb. No sacrificial offering was ever to be placed before the sepulchre of him whose glory was to be the servant of Yahweh. He who loved so well the mountain solitude found his end in one of these solitary rambles, alone with Yahweh in his death, as he had been so often in his life. "And Yahweh buried him upon the mount."

In all the great movements of the age there was a striving, consciously or unconsciously, after a nobler social life, a purer religious faith. That Israel's contribution, seen in the light of history, was so rich, is no doubt due in the first place to the remarkable circumstances under which the nation was formed. The way of Israel was a *via crucis*. It was not possible for the scions to forget that their sires had once been slaves in Egypt, for their glory was so closely bound up with their shame. Having known what suffering was, the nation learned to succor those that suffer. The tender regard for the widow and the orphan, the needy and the oppressed, so marked at all times in Israel, sprang from the painful memory of Egyptian bondage. Restraint in Egypt, where nature was as generous as rich, and freedom in the desert amid a nature as penurious as chaste, this seems an irony of fate, but was a double blessing. For thus were blended a wholesome love of settled life not satisfied until the Jordan had been passed, with the nomad's robust sense of right and sturdy independence. In another point of view, the recognition of the supremacy of Yahweh was immensely furthered by the fact that previous to the great events ascribed to him there was no national life, no widespread and elaborate cult of other gods in Israel. What might have become of Khu en Aten's monotheistic reform, had Egypt been young and Amen Ra had no Theban priesthood? Or of Assurahiiddin's attempt to suppress the worship of every god but Nabu, had not Assur been to his people the vanquisher

of the gods of the nations, and had there been fewer rival cults in Assyria and Babylonia.

But while circumstances may favor new developments, men make them. Without Moses, or a man like him, there would have been neither a God like Yahweh, nor a people like Israel. He was the hero of the age, the founder of the nation, the great *kahin*, seer and priest in one. He felt the hand of Yahweh in the wind; he heard the voice of Yahweh in the storm; he formed the tribes into a Yahweh people. He stamped his faith upon the nation. When century after century laid its wisest regulations for daily life and divine worship on the lips of Moses, that fiction held profoundest truth. For Moses spoke—and these thoughts filled the minds of Israel's leaders. Had he been silent, they would not have had the basis for their message. The great redeeming truths that blossom out in Israel's later life are all in germ in those great deeds of his that better than recorded words reflect the inmost movements of his thought. As to the greatest of the apostles the cross of Christ revealed the character of his Lord and became the center of his system of thought, almost to the complete exclusion of the words reported; so may to us the *gesta Mosis* interpret, where words fail, the thoughts, the purposes, the nature of the man.

But what made Moses what he was? An illusion, a fabric woven of the stuff that dreams are made of? I cannot so believe. Back of the marvelous play of seeming chance and circumstance, back of the apparently free and conscious movement of a soul, there was the everlasting power that works for righteousness, the Father of our spirits. Without his will no wind can blow, no thunder roar, no battle turn to victory, no nation form; without his inspiration no sense of right, no love of truth unfold in a prophetic soul. Our modern estimate of the universe can recognize no chance, no accident within; no arbitrariness, no whim without. But will not the increasing light reveal a nicer adjustment than we have ever dreamed of yet between the law-bound course of nature and the unfolding purpose of man's history? The wind that blew across the Erythræan obeyed the laws determining the course of every wind, the mind interpreting that wind

followed the laws determining the movements of all psychic forces. But what of the concurrence of this mighty wind and the still mightier faith? Was that an accident? Shall we not rather say that both were necessary parts of the one divinely ordered evolution of our planet's life? Not only in the things around us, but in our own souls, too, the God we know is immanent. Thus it is true, if we but read it rightly, that the living God had speech with Moses and speaks to us through him.

There are no leaps in nature, and there are none in human history, but when the time is ripe a child is born in Goshen, or in Bethlehem, to teach mankind the holier name, the truer character of God, to rule with spirit-force all coming generations and thus to make more just and pure and kind the life of man, to be our sureties of the coming good. However long the pilgrimage may be, the promised land is yonder. The day will come, for come it must, when wooed from ignorance and sin and misery by faithful human leadership and constant heavenly inspiration, the sons of men shall draw with gratitude from every age and clime the grace and truth that it brought forth, thereby to nourish and enrich their life. As in that day, the bearers of glad tidings to mankind, the lifters up of goodlier ideals, the potent personal forces working out the destiny of the race, stand forth in clearer light, redeemed humanity shall sing in louder strain, with sweeter voice, the song of Moses and the Lamb.

OUTLINE TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY

II.

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PROPHETIC SITUATIONS: AMOS. ISAIAH. ZEPHANIAH. DEUTERO-ISAIAH. PRINCIPLES OF PROPHECY.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

1. The addresses of Amos.¹

- 1) *The man and his times*; From Tekoa of Judah; herdsman; ability; under Jeroboam II, political prosperity, moral degradation; Assyria's growth and connection with Israel.
- 2) *The first address* (chaps. 1 and 2), *Announcement*: Threats against Damascus, Gaza, Tyre (1:3-10); against Edom, Ammon, Moab (1:11-2:3); against Judah (2:4, 5); against Israel—her sins enumerated (2:6-12), her complete subjugation announced (2:13-16).
- 3) *The second address* (chaps. 3 and 4), *Destruction*: The prophet justifies his mission (3:1-8); outside nations testify against Israel (3:9-15); the voluptuous women of Samaria shall suffer (4:1-3); all efforts have failed, utter destruction will now come (4:4-13).
- 4) *The third address* (chaps. 5 and 6), *Lamentation*: Israel shall fall (5:1-3); instead of seeking God, she sins against him (5:4-12); special classes (5:13-27); the leaders responsible (6:1-6); none shall escape (6:8-11); ASSYRIA IS COMING (6:12-14).

¹ Vater, *Amos*; Juynboll, *Disputatio de Amoso*; Baur, *Der Prophet Amos*; Oort, *Theol. Tijd.*, 1880, 114-59; Hoffmann, *ZAW*, III., 87-126; Chambers, O. T. Student, Sept. 1883, 2-6; Gunning, *De Godspraken van Amos*; Curtis, O. T. Student, Jan. 1887, 136-9; Davidson, *Expositor*, 1887, V., 161-79, VI., 161-73; Atkinson, O. T. Student, Apr. 1889, 332-44; Stekhoven, *Th. St.* 1889, 228-8. Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,¹ II., 355-62; Mitchell, *Amos*; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, V., 67-94. Other Comms. *in loc.*

- 5) *Questions*: (a) The times of Amos as depicted by himself? (b) the connection of his addresses with these times? (c) the prophet's purpose in the addresses? (d) the prophet's purpose in prediction?

2. **The Immanuel Prophecy of Isaiah (7:1-8:4).¹**

- 1) *The Circumstances*: Confederacy of Syria and Israel against Judah (7:1-2); the *first* interview (7:3-9)—the boy, the message, its reception.
- 2) *The Second Interview* (7:10-17):—the time, the sign offered, the refusal, the sign given, the young woman, the child, his food.
- 3) *The Prediction of the Coming of Assyria* (7:18-25).
- 4) *The Birth of another child later* (8:1-4).
- 5) *Questions*: (a) the situation, in a word? (b) the relation of the child to the situation? (c) the relation of Immanuel to Maher-shalal-hash-baz? (d) the purpose of the prophet in the utterance? (e) the fulfilment of the prediction?

3. **The Prophecy of the Prince of Peace (Isa. 8:16-9:7).²**

- 1) *The Darkness of the Situation*: Prayer for the preservation of his message (8:16-18); warning not to seek the dead, but God (8:19-20).
- 2) *The Historical Situation*: Assyrian army under Tiglath-pileser in the North; the tribes of Zebulon and Naphtali carried away; the news reaches Jerusalem; panic in the city; *darkness and distress* (8:21, 22).
- 3) *The Sermon of the Prince*:
9:1. Zebulon and Naphtali now dishonored *shall be glorified*.

¹Ewald, *Prophets of the O. T.*, II., 72-99; Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, in *loc.*; KAT,² 256 ff.; Budde, *Ueber das siebente Capitel des B. Jesaia*, in *Etudes archéologiques . . . dédiées à M. le Dr. C. Leemans*, 121-26; Giesebrecht, *die Immanuelweissagung*, St. Kr., 1888, Part II., 217 ff.; Driver, *Isaiah*, 28-42; Sayce, *Life and Times of Isaiah* 43 ff., 73 ff.; G. A. Smith, *The Book of Isaiah*, I., in *loc.*; KB, II., 20 f.; Blake, *How to read Isaiah*, 28-42; Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, in *loc.*; Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, in *loc.*

²Stade, ZAW, III., 14, IV., 260; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 596; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*, II., 45 f.; Hackmann, *Die Zukunftserwartung des Jesaia*, 125-56; Comms. in *loc.*

9:2. Instead of the darkness now prevailing, *light shall shine.*

9:3. Instead of the present sorrow, *the greatest joy.*

9:4. Instead of captivity, *freedom from yoke.*

9:5. Instead of war and bloodshed, *war-implements destroyed.*

9:6. Instead of Tiglath-pileser, *a child yet to be born:*

Tiglath-pileser, a counsellor, but the child, *a wonder of a counsellor.*

Tiglath-pileser, a hero, but the child, *a very God of a hero.*

Tiglath-pileser, carrying off spoils, the child, *a father of booty, i. e., a distributor of spoils.*

Tiglath-pileser, a warrior, the child, *a prince of peace.*

- 4) *Questions:* (a) the situation? (b) the relation of the utterance to the situation? (c) the purpose of the prophet in the utterance? (d) the fulfilment of the prediction?

4. The Prophecy of Zephaniah.¹

- 1) *The Times:* The wickedness of the people; the preaching of Jeremiah; the invasion of the Scythians; the attitude of Josiah; the reformation of Josiah.
- 2) *The Threat of Judgment* (1:1-18): Judgment on everything (1:2, 3), especially on Jerusalem for her wickedness (1:4-6); the ruin, a feast (1:7-9); the city destroyed (1:10-13); it is the day of judgment (1:14-18).
- 3) *The Exhortation* (2:1-3:7): Let Jerusalem repent before it is too late (2:1-4); the whole earth shall be laid waste (2:5-15); let Jerusalem repent (3:1-7).
- 4) *The Promise to the Faithful* (3:8-20): Hope, for, after judgment, all will be well (3:8-10); *in that day* Jerusalem's inhabitants meek and at peace (3:11-13); *in that day*, no fear, for Jehovah will rejoice in Jerusalem (3:14-17); *in that day* Israel shall be restored, honored, prosperous (3:18-20).
- 5) *Questions:* Same as above.

¹Strauss, *Vaticinia Zephaniae*; Reinke, *der Prophet Zephania*; Reuss, *Geschichte*, 344 ff.; Buhl, ZAW, V., 182-4; Stade, *Geschichte*, 644 f.; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,² II., 395-9; Budde, St. Kr., 1893, 393-9, other Comms. *in loc.*

5. Sermons from Deutero-Isaiah.¹

- 1) *The Times and Circumstances*: The faithful Israel in anxiety and distress; the prophet's work, to comfort and encourage.
- 2) *A Sermon of Comfort* (40 : 1-31):
 1. vss. 1-11, Be comforted, Israel; Jehovah is coming; his word is sure; announce his coming as a warrior, a shepherd.
 2. vss. 12-26, He is able to deliver you, for he has created the world; in his sight men are nothing; idols are manufactured things; Jehovah brings out the stars.
 3. vss. 27-31, Nor has he forgotten you; he is not a mere local God; he does not grow weary; he is the source of all strength.
- 3) *Cyrus the Anointed One and the Deliverer* (44 : 24-45 : 25).
- 4) *The Fall of Babylon's Gods* (46).
- 5) *The Fall of Babylon* (47).
- 6) *The Escape from Babylon* (48).
- 7) *The Deliverance of Israel* (51 : 1-12).
 1. vss. 1-3, Bestir thyself and arise from the dust; being sold for nothing, you *can* be redeemed.
 2. vss. 4-6, Because, Egypt and Assyria oppressing you, I have nothing left here (?); because my name is reviled, you *must* be redeemed.
 3. vss. 7-10, How welcome the messengers who bring good tidings! How the prophets rejoice! the waste places sing!

¹ Cheyne, *The book of Isaiah chronologically arranged*; Cheyne, *The Prophecies of Isaiah*, I. and II.; Reuss, *Geschichte*, 426-37; Krüger, *Essai sur la theol. d'Es.* 40-66; Cobb, *Bib. Sac.*, 1881, 230-53, 1882, 519-54; Driver, *Isaiah*, 133-212; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*², II., 99-157; G. A. Smith, *The book of Isaiah*, II.; Dillmann, *Der Prophet Jesaia*, in *loc.*; Giesebrecht, *Beiträge zur Jesaiakritik*, in *loc.*; Delitzsch, *Comm. on the Prophs. of Isaiah*, II., in *loc.*; Reich, *Isaiah*, in *loc.*; Duhm, *Das Buch Jesaia*, in *loc.*; Ley, *Historische Erklärung des zweiten Teils des Jesaia*; Klostermann, *Deuterjesaia*.

4. vss. 11, 12, Go forth from Babylon; do not defile yourselves; do not go in confusion; but with Jehovah in front and behind.

8) *Questions*: Same as above.

II. PROPOSITIONS CONCERNING PROPHECY, INTENDED TO EXPRESS CERTAIN GENERAL FACTS IN REFERENCE TO PROPHECY AND CERTAIN FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLES IN ACCORDANCE WITH WHICH PROPHECY MUST BE STUDIED.¹

- 1) There is a wide-spread indifference on the part of ministers and laymen, manifested by some, concealed by others, to the real value of the Old Testament, especially the prophetic books. This indifference is largely due to ignorance and misunderstanding. The real facts in the case will be appreciated only when there has been gained a knowledge of the contents of these books and of the principles in accordance with which they are to be interpreted.
- 2) Any true knowledge of the contents and any true appreciation of the principles, consequently any genuine acceptance of this material, will depend upon the knowledge and proper understanding of Israelitish history, political and religious, and to some extent, of that wider Semitic history of which Israelitish history is a part.

¹ Hoffmann, *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, 2 parts; Schultz, *Ueber doppelten Schriftsinn*, St. Kr., 1866; Tholuck, *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen*²; Dillmann, *Ueber die Propheten des A. B.*; Küper, *Das Prophetenthum des A. B.*; Kuenen, *Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*; R. P. Smith, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*, 32-77; Hengstenberg, *Christology of the O. T.*², IV., 350-94; Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, 77-48; Gloag, *The Messianic Prophecies*, 100-110, 155-74; Delitzsch, *Messianic Prophecies*, 14-25; Leathes, *O. T. Prophecy*, 292-305; Vernes, *Mélanges de Critique Religieuse*, 161-80; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*, passim; König, *Der Offenbarungsbegriff des A. T.*, 2 vols.; Ladd, *The Doctrine of Sacred Scripture*, I., 114-47; Wildeboer, *De Prophetie onder Israel*; Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, 1-73; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 1-63; Riehm, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 207-25 Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,² II., 1-20; Oehler, *Theologie des A. T.*², 737-91; Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*, 513-27; Schultz, *O. T. Theology*, I., 235-300; Kayser, *Theologie des A. T.*², 116-22; Kühn, *Kompendium der Bibl. Theol.*, 41-64.

- 3) This knowledge of history is essential because the *history is fundamental*. It lies back of prophecy, supports and produces it. The history is the internal, prophecy the external. The historical situation is the divine element, prophecy the human interpretation of the situation by one who was himself included in the situation and was therefore divinely guided.
- 4) Israelitish history *differs from all other history* in having partly as its product, partly also as given to it by special divine action, great lives such as those of Moses, Samuel, David, and Isaiah. These lives and the history of which they were a part alone produce real prophecy. Roman and Greek history produced no *true* prophecy.
- 5) Whatever of *history there is in prophecy* is (a) *divine*, because it is a part of that specially ordered Israelitish history; the more of the historical there is in prophecy, the more of the divine there will be; (b) *human*, because and in so far as it is characterized by the limitations to which all human utterance is subject. The prophets convey to men the true conception of God's will, but they were limited in their work by the character of the language employed, by the ignorance and willfulness of the people whom they addressed, and by the weaknesses inherent in their own humanity, and inseparable from the situation in which their work was done.
- 6) The prophet's chief work was *that of a reformer*; he labored to improve the religious condition of his people. No prophetic utterance was ever made that was not intended to influence the lives and thoughts of those who first heard it. The utterance was a divine means used to affect the peculiar and unique history of which it was a part. This was true not only of prophecy, but also of psalmody and legislation.
- 7) In the case of some prophetic utterances, as has been shown by time, the New Testament writers, and human experience, there was a deeper meaning, and a *more distant purpose*. As the history was preparatory to a

great dispensation, so also the utterances which grew out of that history. This more distant purpose was closely connected in every case with the immediate purpose. Here belong (*a*) the Messianic material, (*b*) the truths which are eternal in their character and universal in their application.

- 8) A large portion, if not all, of prophecy was *conditional* (Jer. 18:8-10); therefore (*a*) some prophecy because of non-fulfilment of the conditions has never been, will never be, fulfilled; (*b*) other prophecy, because of the change of the conditions, has been fulfilled in another manner than that originally contemplated by the prophet himself. Here belong all prophecies concerning Israel.
- 9) *Prediction* as distinguished from prophecy, (*a*) was an important element, but not an essential element of prophecy; (*b*) was employed in order by its very utterance to affect the minds of the people who first heard it; (*c*) when of a threatening character, but heeded was of necessity unfulfilled; (*d*) when in the form of a promise, but unheeded, of necessity unfulfilled; (*e*) grew out of two factors, viz., the historical situation and the body of principles divinely imparted to the prophet; (*f*) was in most cases general, not specific; (*g*) was applied specifically by New Testament writers, when originally intended as general, in accordance with the spirit of exegesis in New Testament times and the fundamental principles underlying prediction as distinguished from prophecy.
- 10) *The time of utterance* of a given prophecy was always determined by the time of the occurrence of the event or experience which gave origin to the prophecy. In case of postponement of an event the time of revealing the truth must also have been postponed. Each truth is appropriately made known at a particular moment in the history which is being carried on to furnish a basis for the revelation of truth. Every great crisis was employed as a means for conveying some great truth.

- 11) The *form* of a given prophecy was also determined by the historical event out of which it grew. In different periods the same truth took on different forms. In every case the form is explained by the particular circumstances with which it stood related.
- 12) The *very substance* of the prophecy was dependent upon and determined by the historical event. The Messianic king and kingdom were in the truest sense revealed in the royal period of David. The idea of the restoration was proclaimed in view of the impending captivity. When Jerusalem's existence was threatened Isaiah preached the doctrine of the remnant. When pure Israel languished in captivity, the reproach and the sport of her enemies, the doctrine of a suffering Messiah took most definite form. The substance of prophecy cannot be separated from the history of the prophetic people.
- 13) It follows that the prophet was *one of the people*, identified in spirit and life with his age, choosing one or another of the political parties. He was the product of the supernatural agencies which God was exerting and employing throughout the entire history of the people. He was, therefore, divinely guided in the same sense in which the history itself was divinely guided. But since frequently he represents ideas wholly in advance of his age, and in direct opposition to those of his age, he must have been something more than the product of his age, viz., an objective factor shaping and moulding the age itself. In two senses, therefore, though a man, he was divinely led.
- 14) The connection of prophecy and history is close; the first is a part of the second; the second, the background of the first. Prophecy was built on history; history was the foundation of prophecy. The history determines the time, form and substance of prophecy; prophecy moulds the history. The times produced the prophet; the prophet produced certain historical conditions. The history was unique, supernatural; prophecy was con-

sequently of divine origin ; both human, both divine to the same extent.

- 15) Old Testament prophecy was "the illustration and the declaration of the principles of divine government." It was (a) *Prophecy of the present*,—growing out of the history of the times, and based on that history,—when the prophet, seeing the wickedness and iniquity around him, rebuked it ; or, observing a true desire for righteousness, encouraged it ; (b) *Prophecy of the future* or prediction, when the prophet, seeing that which is approaching directs their thoughts to the glorious future, or, in thundering tones depicts the divine judgment which is soon to fall on a land full of corruption and idolatry and leave it a scene of desolation ; (c) *Prophecy of the past*, when, inspired from above, he writes for the encouragement or the warning of his countrymen and those who are to follow him, the record of the past, how God led individuals or the nation ; the story of a nation's apostasy and the consequent slavery ; the story of a king's crime and the punishment which followed ; the story of a royal prayer and the miraculous deliverance ; the story of a prophetic mission and a city turned from sin. Here belong the stories of Genesis and Exodus, of Samuel and Kings which are in the truest sense prophecy.
- 16) Old Testament prophecy was not merely words of exhortation in view of the present, promises and warnings with reference to the future, lessons drawn from the past—it was all this, but more, viz., the history itself ; for every great life and every great event was a prophecy, a religious object lesson. These lives and events were the illustrations of the principles ; technical prophetic utterance, the interpretation of the lives and the events, was a declaration of the principles. History came first, prophecy followed.
- 17) Israelitish history, peculiar as was God's relation to it, includes on the part of its greatest leaders, actions of the most sinful character, and on the part of the nation itself, both actions and institutions of the most degrad-

ing character. It was nevertheless divine history,—the best history Almighty power could inspire, acting in consistency with other attributes, and working in the hearts of a people dragged down with sin.

- 18) Israelitish literature, peculiar as was God's relation to it, includes different and differing accounts of the same event; what from the point of view of history and science are errors and inconsistencies; what certainly is a total disregard for the common laws of history-writing in vogue today. It is nevertheless the divine literature. It is the best Almighty power acting in consistency with other divine attributes could inspire in the hearts of a people of Semitic blood, living at that period in the world's history. It was at all events the "word" which God in his supreme wisdom saw fit to reveal at this stage in the progress of the divine plan.
- 19) Yet the Old Testament not merely contains the Word of God; *it is the Word of God.* Israelitish history being divine history in a unique and peculiar sense, the literature growing out of that history is divine literature in just the same sense. God worked in other history and the revelation of God appears also in other literature, but we must come back to Israelitish history and Israelitish literature to find the real God-history and the real God-word,—a history and a word which considered as a manifestation of the divine purpose and actions, and as a revelation of principles governing faith and duty, are perfect and infallible.
- 20) It was the literal and artificial handling of prophecy which blinded the eyes of the Jews and led them to reject the Messiah when he came. This same literal and artificial method has blinded the eyes of men today and as a result the Old Testament is practically rejected from being reckoned as a part of the divine work,—not merely by skeptics but also by those professedly most devout, who, nevertheless, in word and act confess that they find nothing to help them in this great storehouse of divine material.

Aids to Bible Readers.¹

THE EPISTLES OF PAUL TO TIMOTHY AND TITUS.

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The Apostle Paul the author of these three epistles; the career of Paul after his first imprisonment at Rome; the time of writing the Epistles to Timothy and Titus; the second imprisonment and martyrdom of Paul; the churches of Ephesus and Crete; Timothy and Titus, Paul's deputies in pastoral work; the occasion and purpose of each epistle; the false teaching which was denounced, the form of church organization reflected in these writings; their peculiarities of style; analyses of the Pastoral Epistles.

THE two letters to Timothy and the letter to Titus are frequently called the Pastoral Epistles, because they contain instructions concerning church government and teaching. These three letters purport to be the writings of the Apostle Paul—his name appears at the head of each, as in the case of every extant Pauline writing. They have always been regarded by the church as the LETTERS OF PAUL. Clear and frequent quotations from them appear in the Christian writings of the second century, they were present in the second century versions of the New Testament, Eusebius, the fourth century historian, speaks of them as acknowledgedly Pauline, and their place in the canon as letters of Paul was practically unchallenged. The external evidence, therefore, strongly supports the claim of the epistles to Pauline authorship.

The internal evidence, however, has been thought by not a few distinguished scholars of the present day to disprove rather than to support their claim to be the writings of Paul. A careful and detailed comparison of the style, contents and background of the Pastoral Epistles with the style, contents and background of the undisputedly Pauline epistles (Gal., 1 and 2 Cor., Rom., 1 Thess.) will show decided differences of style, thought and spirit. These differences cannot be ignored or summarily dismissed—they must be accounted for. The

¹ Under this head will be published from month to month articles intended to furnish help in the intelligent *reading* of the books of the Bible *as books*. They will aim to present not so much fresh results of critical investigation as well-established and generally recognized conclusions.

question is, how? Since the letters claim to be Paul's, and have been so regarded by the church almost without exception, these differences should be accounted for, if possible, on the basis of the Pauline authorship. It is believed by conservative Christian scholars,¹ that this can be satisfactorily done, substantially as follows.²

Whether Paul was released from the Roman imprisonment in which the Book of Acts (ch. 28) leaves him, or whether that imprisonment terminated only with his death, is a question which cannot be decisively answered. If the latter, he cannot have been the author of the Pastoral Epistles, for they, by reason of the events which they contain and the doctrinal errors and ecclesiastical features which they reflect, do not find a place within the period of time covered by the Acts. But there are good grounds for the former view, that after a time Paul was released from his first imprisonment at Rome, and enjoyed a brief period of freedom—two or three years—during which he journeyed about among the churches as indicated in the Pastoral Epistles; and that this was followed by rearrest and a SECOND IMPRISONMENT AT ROME which terminated with his death. The chief arguments in support of this view are: (*a*) the strongly attested tradition from the first centuries of the Church (Eusebius, *H. E.*, II., xxii., 2) that this was the case, (*b*) the improbability that the Book of Acts would have ended as abruptly as it does if there were nothing further to record of Paul except his death, (*c*) the well substantiated claim of the Pastoral Epistles to Pauline authorship, which would require a continuation of Paul's career to include them.

Taking this view, therefore, as the more probable one, we can gather from the epistles a general idea of PAUL'S MOVEMENTS AND ACTIVITIES during this brief period in which he was permitted to continue

¹ That Paul was the author of the Pastoral Epistles is maintained by Alford, Conybeare and Howson, Davies, Dods, Ellicott, Fairbairn, Farrar, Gieseler, Gloag, Godet, Hackett, Herzog, Huther, Lange, Lewin, Lightfoot, Neander, Plummer, Plumptre, Reuss, Salmon, Schaff, Wace, Weiss, Wieseler, Wiesinger and others. The Pauline authorship is denied by Baur, S. Davidson, DeWette, Eichhorn, Ewald, Hilgenfeld, H. J. Holtzmann, Pfleiderer, Renan, Weizsäcker and others.

² The matter is thoroughly discussed in all Commentaries on the Pastoral Epistles and all Introductions to the New Testament. As for Commentaries, the best small one is that by Humphreys in the *Cambridge Bible Series*, the best large one is that by Huther in the *Meyer Series*. Of New Testament Introductions that by Weiss is the best (Vol. I., pp. 374-420), and then Gloag's *Introduction to the Pauline Epistles*, pp. 354-436, Salmon's *Introduction*, pp. 397-413. See further other Introductions, Commentaries, Lives of Paul, etc., without number.

his missionary work. Leaving Rome in 63 A.D.,¹ Paul probably went east to Greece (Phil. 2:24) and then to Asia (Philem. 22), where he remained for several months, working at Ephesus (1 Tim. 1:20; 2 Tim. 1:18). Thence in 64 A.D. he probably went to Crete and labored for some time. In the latter part of that year he may have fulfilled his long-delayed purpose of carrying the gospel to Western Europe (Rom. 15:28), a mission which is referred to in the earliest patristic writings as actually accomplished by Paul. On his return, perhaps in 66 A.D., he seems to have gone again to Crete, and on his departure to have left Titus in charge of the churches there (Tit. 1:5). Then he revisited Ephesus, where Timothy was placed as overseer of the work (1 Tim. 1:3), and he himself went on westward into Greece. Soon after leaving Ephesus, perhaps at Troas, Paul wrote the *FIRST EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY* (66 A.D.), in which he expressed the hope of returning to Ephesus soon (1 Tim. 3:14). But circumstances determined otherwise, for when he wrote the *EPISTLE TO TITUS* a few months later he had decided (Tit. 3:12) to spend the winter of 66-67 A. D. at Nicopolis (in Epirus probably). Perhaps he did not reach Nicopolis, for soon after writing to Titus he was rearrested and once more imprisoned at Rome. We have no record of the reasons for his rearrest, nor of its circumstances, but the proceeding was not at all strange, for since his departure from Rome the city had burned (July 19, 64 A.D.), and a savage persecution of the Christians had sprung up which might well have reached to other cities of the Empire and led to the captivity of Paul, who was at once the most conspicuous, the most active, and the most faithful of the Christians. In his second imprisonment at Rome he was closely confined and heavily chained (2 Tim. 2:9). It was not until after he had had a first hearing that he wrote the *SECOND EPISTLE TO TIMOTHY*, early in 67 A. D. perhaps, and in that hearing there had been no one to take Paul's part (2 Tim. 4:16); naturally he requested Timothy to come to him and to bring Mark with him (2 Tim. 4:11, 21). He foresaw that this time there would be no release, and that his end was near at hand; perhaps as soon as the summer of 67 A. D. the time of his departure came (2 Tim. 4:6).

¹The dates given for these events are those which seem now approved, though they are not certain; while the assignments of portions of the year are conjectural except at points established by the epistles. The time of year, and even the precise year, of Paul's martyrdom are not known. Moreover, the outline of Paul's movements in this period of freedom cannot be determined with any certainty; any outline must be in large part conjectural—the outline here given is no exception.

THE CHURCH AT EPHESUS, with which Paul worked for nearly three years on his third journey (55-57 A. D.), we have learned to know in connection with the letter to the Ephesians.¹ This church, situated in one of the great cities of the Empire, was the mother church of a large group of strong churches in the province of Asia, a most eminent and influential Christian district. In contrast with this eminence and influence the churches of Crete were small and obscure; and yet considered by themselves they were of importance. Crete was a large island, about 150 miles long and 30 broad, lying in the Mediterranean Sea to the southeast of Greece and only a little way distant therefrom. There were doubtless a good many inhabitants, some of them Jews, but they seem not to have had a very good reputation (Tit. 1:12). Paul had been at Crete but once, and then he did no missionary work, for he was a prisoner being taken to Rome (Acts 27:7). When or by whom these Cretan churches were founded we do not know; perhaps quite early by persons who had heard the Apostles on the famous Day of Pentecost (Acts 2:11), or later by Paul's own converts journeying thither from Ephesus or Corinth. In any case they had been in existence for some time when Paul visited them in 64 A. D., and were presumably Gentile in the main, or he would hardly have assumed authority over them.

The Pastoral Epistles bring us into close relations with two of Paul's fellow-workers, both of them comparatively young men. TIMOTHY is one of the best known of all Paul's associates. Acts 16:1-3 records the Apostle's discovery of him and immediate adoption of him (in 52 A. D.) as a companion in his ministry. Thereafter he appears frequently in the Acts narrative and in the Pauline Epistles (see Bible Dictionary, art. Timothy), constantly and efficiently assisting Paul in his establishment of the churches in Greece, especially at Corinth, and being with him during the first imprisonment at Rome. Probably he returned to Asia with the Apostle in 63 A. D., staying in Ephesus while Paul was absent in Crete and on his journey to the remote West. At some time within this period it seems that he was imprisoned, but later released (Heb. 13:23). It was he whom Paul chose to leave as his representative at Ephesus, with apostolic authority over the churches of that district, when he himself went westward again in 66 A. D., no more in God's providence to revisit the Asian Christians. And to Timothy at Ephesus Paul addressed the two letters which bear his name, giving him instruction and encouragement in his difficult work at

¹ See BIBLICAL WORLD, January, 1896, pp. 52 ff.

the great metropolis. Titus first appears in the history at the time of the Jerusalem Conference (51 A. D.), when he attended Paul and Barnabas to that meeting as a representative of the Gentile Christians (Gal. 2: 1-11). Later we find him doing good service in connection with the Corinthian church in 57 A. D. (2 Cor. 7: 6-13; 8: 6, 16 f.). Strangely enough no mention is made of Titus in the Book of Acts. We hear no more of him until we find him in Crete with Paul in 66 A. D. When Paul left that island after his second missionary visit he left Titus as his deputy, to carry forward the work among the Cretan churches, just as a little later he left Timothy in charge of the work at Ephesus. Probably Titus joined Paul either in Greece before his rearrest or in Rome after it (Tit. 3: 12), for the Apostle sent him later on a mission to Dalmatia (2 Tim. 4: 10). His life beyond this point we cannot trace.

THE OCCASION AND PURPOSE OF THE EPISTLES to Timothy and Titus are made plain by the preceding facts and by the contents of the letters. They were all three written within a year, and have to do with the same conditions. Two kinds of trouble were present in the churches of Ephesus and Crete; (1) new and false teachings of a doctrinal sort had made their way thither and found acceptance, (2) the officers of the churches were sometimes unworthy and unfaithful to their duties. All three epistles were written to instruct and encourage Paul's two representatives in their efforts to correct these disorders in their respective localities. It needed Paul's own wisdom and strength to overcome these difficulties successfully; he would communicate to Timothy and Titus as much of both as possible, and by letter, for his work called him westward into Europe. The first letter to Timothy was written soon after Paul's departure from Ephesus, perhaps because of a change of plan which was to keep him from that city longer than he expected (1 Tim. 3: 14), or because he thought that to supplement his spoken instructions with written instructions would be the more effective. In the letter he enjoined Timothy to eradicate the heresy that disturbed the Ephesian church, to correct disorders in the religious services, to see that the church officers be persons qualified for their positions, and to show wisdom, courage, fidelity and uprightness in his pastoral work. Some months later, when an opportunity offered, he wrote to Titus concerning the same matters and in a similar way. The letter directed Titus as to the appointment of officers in the churches, the withstanding of the false teachers, and the guidance of the people into true Christian lives; it bore also a request that Titus should later come to him. Timothy was still working at Ephesus when Paul was suffering his

second imprisonment at Rome. News had reached the Apostle there that Timothy was growing discouraged at his task, and was even becoming affected to some extent by the heretical teaching; moreover, Paul was much in need of companions and defenders in his pending trial. He therefore writes him a second letter with the purpose of reestablishing him in the truth of the gospel, and of encouraging, strengthening and advising him in his pastoral duties; at the close he requests him to come to him at Rome. In this third epistle of the group he does not introduce the instructions found in the first two concerning ecclesiastical matters.

One has to judge from the doctrinal portions of the Pastoral Epistles what the FALSE TEACHING was which had created so much trouble in Ephesus and Crete. It would seem to have been substantially the same heresy which had a few years earlier asserted itself in Colossæ, and which had been controverted by Paul in his letter to that church.¹ It was a mixture of Jewish and pagan religious philosophizing, showing some advance over the Colossian false teaching, which would have added to Christianity a body of profitless speculations and superstitions, and the practical result of which was selfishness, avarice, hypocrisy and corrupt morals. This Ephesian-Crete heresy therefore stands clearly distinguished from the Gnosticism of the second century, which was anti-Judaic, docetic and dualistic, but it was the preparation for, the first stages of that later Gnosticism.

Notwithstanding the fact that the Pastoral Epistles contain so much with reference to church officers, their qualifications and duties, it has not been considered clear what the precise form of church organization in Ephesus and Crete was at the time these letters were written (66-67 A. D.). Apostles, elders (for which presbyter and bishop are synonymous terms in the New Testament), and deacons are the three classes of church officials which have been frequently mentioned in the the Acts and previous Pauline epistles. But the apostles were *ex officio* leading authorities in the churches. They occupied an extraordinary position, and their official relation to the churches should not be pressed within the ordinary form of organization. And it is probable that Timothy and Titus are to be regarded as exercising temporarily apostolic functions as the deputies of Paul in the churches of Ephesus and Crete, rather than as holding respectively a permanent local church office superior to that of the office of elder. It may be said therefore with some confidence that the ecclesiastical features reflected in these letters

¹ See BIBLICAL WORLD, January, 1896, p. 51.

do not mark an essential advance over those of the earlier New Testament writings. It is easy to see, however, in view of the death of the Apostles and the exigencies and conflicts of the church, how episcopacy became established within the generation following by the presbyters elevating one of their own number to a monarchical office to which the name of Bishop by eminence was then applied and confined. It should be remembered that the form of organization and government which pertained to the Primitive Christian Church was determined by its environment; it was not an antecedent, rigid, and external mechanism forced upon the Church, but a simple, experimental, and gradual growth to meet the needs of the Christian community in its organic existence and work. The best form of church organization for any century or any locality is not that which imitates most closely the primitive form, but that which, in accordance with the principles of the Gospel, is best adapted to establish the kingdom of God in the field where it is called to work.

When one compares the Pastoral Epistles with the other epistles of Paul, even in the English version, one finds that they contain many differences of style. His vocabulary is to a surprising extent new, many of the terms used here he has not used before, the phraseology is often peculiar, and the thoughts are frequently not those which have been before expressed. Christianity is more a body of doctrine and less a kind of life, orthodox belief is given a great stress. These are decided differences which need explanation. It is believed, however, by conservative scholars generally that these differences can be accounted for by the following facts: (*a*) It is almost impossible to define the Pauline style, because his several epistles show the greatest divergence among themselves; 1 and 2 Thessalonians are conspicuously different from Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians and Romans, which in turn are conspicuously different from Colossians, Philemon, Ephesians and Philippians, which in turn are different from 1 Timothy, Titus and 2 Timothy; striking diversity was a characteristic of Paul's writing; (*b*) they were personal letters, in which freedom of style was natural; (*c*) they were written at a later period than the other ten; (*d*) they were written in an environment different from any previous one; (*e*) they treated of new subjects because there were new conditions to meet; (*f*) they were Paul's latest letters written in old age.

I. ANALYSIS OF FIRST TIMOTHY.

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| I. SALUTATION. | 1:1, 2 |
| II. DOCTRINE. The Charge to Timothy against Heresy. | 1:3-20 |
| 1. The false doctrine to be eradicated from the church. | 1:3-11 |
| 2. Paul's thanksgiving for his mission as an Apostle of Christianity. | 1:12-17 |
| 3. Solemn recommitment of the charge to Timothy. | 1:18-20 |
| III. INSTRUCTION. Various Duties of Pastor and People in the Church. | 2:1-6:19 |
| 1. Prayer and conduct in public worship. | 2:1-15 |
| <i>a.</i> The subject and manner of prayer. | 1-8 |
| <i>b.</i> The dress and deportment of women. | 9-15 |
| 2. Qualifications requisite for church officers. | 3:1-13 |
| <i>a.</i> For the office of bishop. | 1-7 |
| <i>b.</i> For the office of deacon. | 8-13 |
| 3. Special directions to Timothy in his pastoral work. | 3:14-5:25 |
| <i>a.</i> The supreme dignity and importance of the Church. | 3:14-16 |
| <i>b.</i> Condemnation of the false ascetic and legalistic teaching. | 4:1-5 |
| <i>c.</i> Both by teaching and by example Timothy must show forth true Christian doctrine. | 4:6-16 |
| <i>d.</i> Ministerial bearing toward the various classes in the Church. | 5:1, 2 |
| <i>e.</i> The treatment of the widows in the community. | 5:3-16 |
| <i>f.</i> The payment and impeachment of elders. | 5:17-19 |
| <i>g.</i> The charge to reprove sin and act with justice. | 5:20-25 |
| 4. Warnings and exhortations to all. | 6:1-19 |
| <i>a.</i> The duty of slaves towards their masters. | 1, 2 |
| <i>b.</i> Condemnation of all who teach false doctrine. | 3-5 |
| <i>c.</i> Warning against avarice. | 6-10 |
| <i>d.</i> Exhortation to Timothy to do his whole duty. | 11-16 |
| <i>e.</i> The rich enjoined to use their wealth worthily. | 17-19 |
| IV. CONCLUSION. | 6:20, 21 |
| 1. Final injunction to Timothy, against the false teachers. | 6:20, 21 a |
| 2. Benediction. | 6:21 b |

2. ANALYSIS OF TITUS.

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| 4. Salutations. | 4:19-21 |
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Exploration and Discovery.

THE LATEST FROM PETRIE.

FROM Mr. Petrie's camp at Thebes, I have just received a letter from Mr. Quibell, his assistant, dated December 18, in which he says: "We are at Thebes, installed in three of the arches N. W. of the Ramesseum,—Petrie, my sister, my friend Milne, and I. We have the Ramesseum and the mounds behind the Kom-el-Hetân, with the ground between. We hope for papyri, we hope for cuneiform tablets; as yet of course it is early days and we have nothing important. We expected a good deal of trouble from the fellahin here, but they are singularly tractable. Occasionally a great army of tourists invade us, but they are away again in a few minutes; and a number of people we are glad to see will doubtless turn up. Spiegelberg, for instance is at Drah-Abu'l-Neggah."

Our frontispiece shows, the arches (in the lower right hand corner), in which Mr. Petrie and Quibell are installed. They are of mud brick and once formed the vaulted cellar of a great storehouse or magazine connected with the funeral temple of Ramses II. (usually called the Ramesseum), behind which they stand. The importance of the material, which may be, and has been found in such magazines, cannot be over estimated. In the first place, such chambers were used as wine cellars, where the yearly output of the different vineyards belonging to the temple was stored and carefully registered. On the outside of each jar the scribe marked in ink the year of the vintage according to the years of the king's reign. Thus at Amarna, were found dates on wine jar fragments, showing us that Amenophis IV. reigned nearly twenty years, though we had hitherto supposed his reign was not longer than seven or eight years. Under these arches of the Ramesseum storehouse are wagon loads of such fragments, and they may bring us much history.

In such a magazine there was transacted a great deal of clerical and official business, necessitating many records; hence it is that Quibell is expecting or hoping for papyri. The famous Amarna tablets were found at Tell-el-Amarna in a mud brick magazine, not unlike this of the Ramesseum; hence Quibell's further hope for cuneiform tablets. All these hopes may be in vain, but it is also not at all impossible that they should be brilliantly realized.

The scene of our frontispiece, which lies in the midst of the vast necropolis of Thebes, is historical and interesting. The cliff before us is the famous Shech-'Abd-el-Gurnah, honey-combed with tombs, till it is like a great sponge. From these tombs have come the finest wall paintings of the New Empire, with so many of which we are familiar from childhood in Wilkinson. Behind this cliff is the great valley of the royal tombs, where all the New Empire Pharaohs rested, until persistent grave robbing forced the priest kings of the

XXI. Dynasty to excavate a secret shaft, where they might safely conceal the royal mummies. This secret shaft is just over the brow of the cliff before us, and here Thotmes III., Ramses II. and all the rest were taken out in 1881.

As we face the cliff, the Ramesseum or funeral temple of Ramses II. is just behind us. On our right, but out of range is the famous terraced temple of queen Ha't-shepsut. Here the Egyptian Exploration Fund has completed clearing the temple of detritus and accumulated debris from the cliffs above, a task which has occupied them for the last two winters. Perhaps the most interesting discovery here was the finding of the so-called "foundation deposit" in the temple. This corresponds to our corner-stone deposit. Four of the objects contained in this deposit have been presented by the Fund to the Art Institute of Chicago, where they have just arrived, and may be inspected by the public. They are a model of the hoe, with which the queen broke ground for the foundation of the building, a model sledge for transporting stone, an alabaster jar with lid, and a woven papyrus standard, such as was placed beneath a moist water jar to prevent soiling the table. They date from the sixteenth century B. C., nearly four centuries before the exodus.

JAMES HENRY BREASTED.

A TABLET OF WARNING FROM THE TEMPLE OF HEROD.



"There was one special offence in regard to which the Jews had been accorded the singular privilege of proceeding even against Roman citizens according to Jewish Law. Within the large square forming the outer court of the Herodian temple, there was an oblong quadrangular space enclosed by

strong walls. This was the so-called inner court, or "the court" in the strict sense of the word. This court was approached by a flight of 45 steps, and at the foot of this stair was a stone fence within which no Gentile was allowed to pass. Any Gentile who ventured to pass this boundary and set foot within the inner court was punished with death; and the Roman authorities so respected the scruples of the Jews in regard to this matter that they sanctioned the execution of this sentence even in those cases in which Roman citizens had been the offenders. To this fence notices were attached at certain distances from each other, with the prohibition and penalty for infringing inscribed upon them in Greek and Latin." (Schürer, *The Jewish People in the Time of Christ*, Eng. translation, II., 1, 188 and 266.) The above is a photograph of one of those inscriptions, discovered and published by M. Clermont-Ganneau in 1871. The inscription runs:

ΜΗΘΕΝΑΛΛΑΟΓΕΝΗΕΙΣΗΘ
 ΡΕΥΕΣΘΑΙΕΝΤΟΣΤΟΥΠΕ
 ΡΙΤΟΙΕΡΟΝΤΡΥΦΑΚΤΟΥΚΑΙ
 ΠΕΡΙΒΟΛΟΥΣΔΑΝΑΗ
 ΦΘΗΕΑΥΤΩΙΑΙΤΙΟΣΕΣ
 ΤΑΙΔΙΑΤΟΕΞΑΚΟΛΟΥ
 ΘΕΙΝΘΑΝΑΤΟΝ.

μηθένα ἄλλογενῇ εἰσπορεύεσθαι ἐντὸς τοῦ περὶ τὸ ἱερὸν τρυφάκτου καὶ περιβόλου. ὃς δ' ἂν λήφθῃ ἐαυτῷ αἴτιος ἔσται διὰ τὸ ἐξακολουθεῖν θάνατον.

Let no Gentile enter inside of the barrier and the fence around the sanctuary. Anyone trespassing will bring death upon himself as a penalty.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

GENERAL NOTES.

Another great organization has been added to those who have officially endorsed the work of the Bible Club Course, viz., the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The following is a selection from a letter from the far-famed head of this organization, Miss Francis Willard:

"On page 55 of the Twenty-second Annual Convention of the National W. C. T. U., held at Baltimore, Md., October 1895 is the following report:

"Your committee upon investigation of Professor Harper's course of study, having considered the subject for a year, would, in harmony with other great religious organizations endorse and recommend it to all White Ribbon women.

(Signed)

MRS. CORNELIA FORBES, Conn.

MISS ELIZABETH W. GREENWOOD, N. Y.

MRS. EMILY MCLAUGHLIN, Boston, Mass.

I need not tell you how sincerely I rejoice in this decision, which if it had been left to me would have been reached much earlier.

Will you be kind enough to write me a letter addressed Evanston, Ill., that I can publish in our official organ, the *Union Signal*, which goes to all parts of the world, giving to women who are inclined to Bible study, some idea of the first steps to be taken if they would go into relations with you as their instructor and some encouragement to take this step?"

(Signed)

FRANCIS E. WILLARD.

The five hundred persons who were last year members of the Bible Students' Reading Guild will be able to put their work to most practical use in the teaching of the International Sunday School lessons which are now in the Gospel of Luke. The list of books was chosen with reference to three ideas: (1) the historical background, (2) the narrative of the life itself, (3) comment and summary. We give here a list of the books for the benefit of those who may like to procure them for use now in connection with Sunday School work. Under the first topic Seidel's "In the Time of Jesus" (75 cents) and Ederheim's "Jewish Social Life" (\$1.00). For the second division, Burton's "Harmony of the Gospels" (\$1.25), and Hanna's "Life of Christ" (\$1.25), and for general summary, Brook's "Influence of Jesus" (\$1.00), and Bushnell's "Character of Jesus" (60 cents). These can all be obtained through the

Institute at the special prices given. The first two will be found especially interesting. The Life of Christ, when studied in its historical and social setting, assumes an entirely different and more lifelike aspect in the mind of the ordinary Sunday School pupil.

To the average Sunday School teacher the suggestion that he spend an hour a day upon the study of the Bible seems both unnecessary and impracticable. There are, however, those engaged in such work who would be willing to give this amount of time if they could be so directed in their study as to feel that such an expenditure of energy would lead to a real mastery of the subject. To such as those the Institute correspondence course in the Gospel of Luke will be especially acceptable. This work entails (1) a careful and minute examination of the material of each section as it is taken up, (2) a classification of all this material under different heads, (3) the observations which may be drawn from the preceding results, (4) the more detailed study of special topics, (5) the special religious teachings. For all study the material is divided logically by paragraphs, not arbitrarily. The student sends in the written results of his work, and upon them receives the criticism of a skilled instructor. This transfer is made each two weeks so that teacher and pupil are in frequent communication.

The teacher who is able to carry on his Sunday School work and at the same time be studying preparatory to a subject which he will be called upon to teach several months in advance, should take into consideration the fact that the International Lessons resume in July next the study of Old Testament History, commencing with David. For this the correspondence course in Old Testament History covering the period of Samuel, Saul, David and Solomon would be adequate. The subject is taken up in the same careful manner detailed above.

A most successful Institute was held at Drake University, Des Moines, Iowa. January 14-15, at which Dr. H. L. Willett, of the University of Chicago, gave six lectures on Early Old Testament History. The specific subjects were: (1) Abraham the Patriarch. (2) Israel in Egypt. (3) Moses, Leader and Lawgiver. (4) Joshua and the Conquest. (5) The Days of the Judges. (6) David, King and Psalmist.

There was an average attendance of two hundred and fifty enthusiastic listeners.

At Moline, Ill., Dr. Willett is giving a course of lectures continuing through six weeks. His subject is "The Beginnings of Christianity." The first lecture, "The World's Preparation for Christianity," was delivered Monday evening, January 13, to an audience of three hundred persons. Full syllabi of all these lectures are provided.

The organization of the Council of Seventy has been completed and the charter Councillors are enrolling.

The following officers have been elected :

Of the Council—President, William R. Harper, University of Chicago; Recorder, Mr. C. W. Votaw, University of Chicago; Treasurer, Prof. A. C. Zenos, McCormick Theological Seminary.

Of the Old Testament Chamber—Master, Prof. Chas. Horswell, Garrett Biblical Institute; Scribe, Prof. A. S. Carrier, McCormick Theological Seminary.

Of the New Testament Chamber—Master, Prof. G. H. Gilbert, Chicago Theological Seminary; Scribe, Prof. E. D. Burton, University of Chicago.

Of the General Chamber—Master, Prof. G. S. Goodspeed, University of Chicago; Scribe, Dr. J. H. Breasted, University of Chicago.

Although it is late in the year for active aggressive work, many plans are under discussion and will be carried out as soon as possible.

The officers of the Council constitute a governing Senate from which the following standing committees have been appointed to take general charge of each of the several departments of the Institute work :

Correspondence Work, Professor Horswell, Mr. Votaw; Reading Work, Professors Burton and Carrier; Examinations, Dr. Breasted, Professor Zenos; Lectures, Institutes, and Summer Schools, Professors Goodspeed and Gilbert; Finance, Professors Gilbert, Zenos, Horswell.

Work and Workers.

REV. T. W. KRETSCHMANN, Ph.D., has been appointed Instructor in Hebrew in the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Gettysburg.

THE publication of the *Jewish Quarterly Review* has been transferred to the house of Macmillan & Co. The editorial management continues the same.

THE Christmas number of the *Century* contained reproductions of twelve of the fine Tissot illustrations for the *Life of Christ* soon to be issued in Tours, France, of which book the first twenty copies will sell for one thousand dollars each.

PROFESSOR JOHN MILEY, D.D., of Drew Theological Seminary, who died in December at Madison, N. J., at the age of eighty-two, was the author of two useful books, one upon the Atonement, the other upon Systematic Theology.

THE Morgan course of lectures at Auburn Theological Seminary, now in progress for this year, is being given by Rev. Dr. Edward H. Griffin, Dean of Johns Hopkins University. The subject of the course is "The Relation of Modern Philosophy to the Development of Theology."

THE Agassiz professorship of Oriental languages at the University of California has been filled by the election of Dr. John Fryer, who has been for many years, and is now, a translator in the service of the Emperor of China. Dr. Fryer assumes his new duties the latter part of the present term or early in the next.

A NEW volume has been added to the series of Handbooks for Bible Classes, that on *The Epistle to the Ephesians*, by Professor James S. Candlish, D.D., of the Free Church College, Glasgow. Among other volumes of this series which are in preparation may be noted those on *The Teaching of Jesus*, by Rev. D. M. Ross, M.A.; *The Times of Christ*, by Rev. L. A. Muirhead; *Church History*, by Professor T. M. Lindsay, D.D.

THE world of Oriental scholarship has lost another distinguished member in the death of M. Joseph Derenbourg. He was born at Mayence in 1811, and in 1852 became a corrector of the press at the Imprimerie Nationale in Paris. His "Essai sur l'Histoire et la Géographie de la Palestine," and his work on the "Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticorum" entitles him to the grateful remembrance of Semitic and biblical scholars. He became Professor of Rabbinical Hebrew in the École des Haute Études in 1877.

THE Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges as regards the New Testament is now complete, the last volume having just appeared, that upon *The*

Epistles to Timothy and Titus, by Rev. A. E. Humphreys, M.A. In the Cambridge Greek Testament series the volumes on *The Epistle to the Philippians*, by Rev. H. C. G. Moule, D.D., and on *The Epistle of St. James*, by Rev. A. Carr, M.A., are now in the press, and the volume on *The Pastoral Epistles*, by Rev. J. H. Bernard, is in course of preparation.

THE eleventh regular session of the Chicago Society of Biblical Research was held January 18 at Chicago Theological Seminary, in this city. Papers were read by Professor A. S. Carrier, of the McCormick Theological Seminary, on Driver's Commentary on Deuteronomy; by Professor Shailer Mathews, of the University of Chicago, on Christ's Teaching in regard to the Family; and by Professor W. D. McKenzie, of Chicago Theological Seminary, on The Competence of the Apostolic Witness to the Resurrection.

A SERIES of six lectures upon "The Old Testament and Modern Scholarship" is to be given Sunday evenings during Lent at the Old South Church, Boston. The titles of the several lectures and the lecturers are: February 23, The Beginnings, by President Wm. R. Harper, D.D.; March 1, Israel and Moses, by Professor Francis Brown, D.D.; March 8, Israel and the Judges, by Professor G. F. Moore, D.D.; March 15, Israel and the Kings, by Professor E. L. Curtis, D.D.; March 22, Israel and the Exile, by Rev. A. E. Dunning, D.D.; March 29, Israel from the Exile to the Advent, by Professor J. F. Genung, Ph. D.

THE National Council of the Congregational Churches of America, which convened at Saratoga, N. Y., during October 9 to 14, proposed the following four articles as a basis of union between Protestant Evangelical Churches: "(1) The acceptance of the Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments inspired by the Holy Ghost as containing all things necessary to salvation, and as being the rule and ultimate standard of Christian faith. (2) Discipleship of Jesus Christ, the divine Lord and Saviour and the Teacher of the world. (3) The Church of Christ, which is his body, whose great mission it is to preach his gospel to the world. (4) Liberty of conscience in the interpretation of the Scriptures and in the administration of the church."

PROFESSOR SAYCE, of Oxford, has written a work on *The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotus*, which forms an interesting contribution to the literature of Egypt. It is intended to supplement the books already in the hands of tourists and students, and to put before them just that information which either is not readily accessible or else forms part of larger and cumbrous works. The travelers of Herodotus in Egypt are followed for the first time in the light of recent discoveries, and the history of the intercourse between the Egyptian and Jews is brought to the age of the Roman Empire. A sketch of the Ptolemaic period is given; the results of the recent explorations by the Egypt Exploration Fund and by Professor Flinders Petrie are specially noted.

Book Reviews.

History, Prophecy, and the Monuments. Vol. I. To the Downfall of Samaria.

By JAMES FREDERICK MCCURDY, Ph.D, LL.D., Professor of Oriental Languages in University College, Toronto. New York: Macmillan & Co., 1894. Pp. xxiv. + 425. Price \$3.00.

Courage of a high order is required to write a book on the subject of ancient oriental history. Only the special student of the field knows how scattered are the facts, how shifting is the line between the known and the uncertain, the assured and the hypothetical. So rapid are the changes wrought by philology and archæology that what today is an accepted fact becomes tomorrow uncertain or false, and the structure built upon it or keyed about it, falls to pieces. Who wants to write a book that is sure to be superseded in ten years, perhaps in half the time?

Yet such books are needed today as they were never before needed, and as they will not be needed, perhaps, a decade hence. The great mass of materials relating to the history of the ancient East, which disclose so many new facts, reveal so many and so interesting new points of view, ought to be, and is capable of being, presented in connected and intelligible form to a larger circle than that of the specialists, who, indeed, themselves would be benefited by taking now and then a more general view of the large area in the limited sections of which they are working. The student of the Bible needs in an especial manner to have placed before him the results of archæological and historical research in the ancient world, in their bearing on the life and history of the Hebrews and the problems of the Old Testament.

This latter service is the one which Professor McCurdy has set himself primarily to perform. He is heartily to be praised for his endeavor and sincerely to be congratulated on its achievement. All who teach in the fields of ancient history will find their task materially lightened in the possession, now for the first time, of a good, general book of reference for students. All who wish well to the cause of sound knowledge in the sphere of Old Testament study, and a broader interpretation of Israelitish history, have reason to be grateful to the author of this volume. Now the student of the Old Testament will have, with his Driver for introduction and his Smith for Geography, also his McCurdy for History, a triad of works whose faithful and diligent study will make the Old Testament a new book, a living, fruitful book, revealing its character, purpose, truth and power as these have never before been revealed. Happy the learner in sacred lore who with open mind and earnest purpose sits at the feet of these masters!

Every worker in the field of this book will naturally look at many subjects discussed and opinions advanced by the writer from a somewhat different, and sometimes, an opposite point of view. No one student has a monopoly of ideas or knowledge, no single writer can hope to avoid all errors. In this work union and sympathy of effort between workers is indispensable. In this spirit it is our purpose to examine Dr. McCurdy's book carefully with the hope that these suggestions may be of some service in a second edition which should soon be called for.

Beginning with externals, we wish that a paper had been used which would receive ink without blotting; that an index had been provided, even though this is the first of two volumes; that for the sake of the great body of students its price were not so high. Two serious deficiencies are the meager references to authorities both ancient and modern, and the want of good maps—but one small general map of the entire region of oriental antiquity acts as the frontispiece of the volume, and must suffice for the geographical study of a period of more than two thousand years, during which political relations change rapidly, in a region whose natural features are most varied and influence greatly the social and political life of the people. That McCurdy appreciates the geographical element in history, the text of his volume abundantly proves. Hence his omission of detail maps and historical charts for special periods seems almost unpardonable. The title of the volume is a handicap to its usefulness. Who would ever imagine that the book thus entitled contained a history of oriental antiquity from the point of view of the origin and development of the Hebrew people? To be sure the book is a "history" written with the aid of material derived from the "monuments" of ancient Babylonia, Assyria and Egypt, and elucidating the conditions and circumstances of Hebrew "prophecy" by which the latter is seen to be an important source of the knowledge of historical development. But one has to read the book to discover all this. Its real usefulness and service are concealed rather than revealed by the title. The author has done himself an injustice.

Two dangers which the writer has not altogether escaped are diffuseness and excessive generalization. The book might have been compressed one-eighth by removal of repetitions and condensation of reflective and commentative remarks; moreover, the many conclusions, drawn from a scanty array of facts often themselves uncertain, while interesting and fascinating, will not stand careful analysis. We are inclined to regard both of these weaknesses as not altogether inexcusable, since repetition is to a certain extent necessary in a book intended for scholastic use, and generalization, if liable to undue excess anywhere, is easily overdone in this field of oriental history where general views are so necessary, and where the scarcity of facts continually tempts to the employment of this means of organizing them.

The present volume is divided into six "Books." The first discusses "the northern Semites," their territory, the political and social constitution of these communities and their place in history. It is these peoples that occupy

the central position in the history of antiquity, to them Israel belongs, and as a member of the race it played its part among them. This "Book" deals largely in the unwarranted generalizations referred to above. Indeed the material contained in it ought for the most part never to have been put in this place. It presupposes a knowledge of the history that follows. It takes for granted acquaintance with facts that come later. The reader would do well to skip all of it except the second chapter, and go on at once to "Book" second, reserving these parts for study after the rest of the volume is finished. It is an induction and generalization from the entire field of the ancient Eastern world. When one comes back to it with the facts in mind, many statements will strike him as inadequate. The assertion of the "limitation of capacity for political organization" on the part of the Semites (p. 29) frequently urged, has always seemed to us a strong overstatement, in view of the contributions made by Babylonia and Assyria to the idea of a "world-empire." Writers forget that political organization is something to be learned by trying and that the Semites were first in the field of endeavor. They did not reach the height of Greece and Rome, because they, coming first, made it possible for these peoples to learn by their failures and successes. Not capacity, but opportunity, was the cause of the imperfect political achievements of the Semites. The remarks on the character of the Semitic city (pp. 32-34) rest partly on the limitation of the view to the Syrian cities where the geographical character of the land explains their "isolation and repulsion" and partly on doubtful etymologies, like *kiryath* "meeting-place" (?) and *alu* whose relation to *ohel* "tent" is questionable. Again, when one reads the summary on p. 61 of the results of the discussion showing the "lack of permanence and solidity in almost all political combinations found among the Semites" and its explanation found "in the fact that delegated power is foreign to Semitic notions and methods of government," the question is irresistibly suggested: Did the Semites differ from the Greeks in these particulars? All antiquity, Eastern or Western, had difficulty in working out any system of "delegated power." All antiquity before Rome showed lack of political permanence and solidity. We only register our own opinion, however, when we question whether the author has succeeded in showing the remarkable difference between Hebrew political organization and that of the other Semites; indeed the avowed purpose of making the whole discussion revolve about the history of Israel seems to us to involve the plan and organization of the book in confusion, to compel the author to a series of prejudgments, and finally to fail of satisfactory justification in the facts and development of the history contained in the book itself.

"Books" two to four bring the history of the ancient world up through Babylonia, Egypt, Syria and Assyria, to the entrance of the Hebrews into Canaan. Much of great interest and value is brought out, particularly the startling and important fact of the early predominance of Babylonian authority and civilization in western Asia. The author is an unflinching advocate

of the Semitic origin of Babylonian culture against the so-called Sumerian theory. This view will undoubtedly be modified by further researches but such a presentation is valuable. The empire of Sargon and Naram-Sin is placed at the beginning of history, a view which is not capable of adequate proof, while our best authority, Hilprecht, declares that "the kings of 'Shirpurla' are earlier than Sargon" (O. B. T. p. 19).

With "Books" five and six the position of Israel becomes central and commanding in the narrative. The Hebrew struggle with Canaanites and Aramæans for predominance in Syria and the steady progress of Assyrian ascendancy in the West as it affected northern Israel are clearly and strongly described. The tragedy of Samaria's fall closes the volume. The central defect of this part of the discussion is the lack of thoroughgoing criticism of the historical books of the Old Testament. The books of Samuel appear to be taken as homogeneous. Chronicles is an authentic source. Difficulties are slipped over without comment or suggestion. This is true of the account of the introduction of David to Saul's court (p. 240) and of the story of the foundation of the kingdom (pp. 55, 56, 236-238). It is gratifying, however, to notice that the compilatory element in the biblical books is recognized as well as the preëminence of the religious element in them (pp. 12, 13). There is also some carelessness in statements of detail. Ehud, after assassinating the king of Moab "returned over the Jordan" (p. 230). The remark that Solomon's temple was built on the *Moriah* peak of Zion (p. 250) is confusing. Jeroboam is said (p. 254) to erect shrines "to other deities as well as Jehovah." Ahab gave "statutory authorization to the formal establishment of the Phœnician Cult" (p. 258). "Jehoshaphat's alliance with Ahab against Damascus cost the latter his life" (p. 260) is a loose statement. Jehu is "twice anointed" king (p. 283). The author's view of the prophets seems to waver between the older and the later view. Their writings are regarded as a source of history higher than the historical books, yet they cover less than three centuries. Their interest in the politics of their times is intense (p. 15) yet it was secondary and indirect (p. 338). They only "interfered" in public affairs on special occasions (p. 339).

Of foreign nations and their relations to Israel we note the following points. In Babylonian matters, Cyrus (p. 81) is said to have turned the waters of the Euphrates before the capture of Babylon! The Delitzsch theory, long since recognized as doubtful, of a Babylonian "Eden" is accepted. The "Synchronistic history" arose out of a feeling of "kinship" between the two peoples of Assyria and Babylonia (p. 86)! The Terahite origin of the Hebrews from southern Babylonia is asserted (p. 25). Assyria is founded by emigrants from Babylonia (p. 23). The meaning "highland" is given to Elam (p. 125). The "Hettites," as McCurdy calls them, occupy a prominent, perhaps more than their rightful place, in the volume. It is rather precarious to speak of the "Hettite régime" in Palestine (p. 226). Certainly it is strange to read (p. 198) that the greatest service of the Hettites was in keeping the

Egyptians out of Palestine. When was this ever the case? Kadesh is called their southern capital (p. 201) which it could not have been according to Müller's investigations. Indeed McCurdy's whole discussion of the Egyptian period of dominance over western Asia, needs to be rewritten in the light of Müller's *Asien und Europa*, particularly the geographical passages on pp. 160-162. Such mistakes as *the* Rutenu (p. 175), Naharain (p. 175) for Nahrina would then have been avoided. So should our author have escaped the error of calling Thi, the wife of Amenophis IV., and referring to her mummy (p. 181). Her Asiatic origin is exceedingly problematical, as is also the probability of Chuenaten's violent death (p. 277). The Exodus is placed toward the end of the reign of Ramses III., *i. e.*, about 1200 B. C. (p. 204), the entrance into Canaan about 1160 B. C. Some views of the author concerning Palestine before the conquest are interesting. The Canaanites came from the north into Palestine (p. 154) yet on p. 168 they move *upward* over Jezreel into Phœnicia. This is confusing. A strong argument is urged in favor of distinguishing the Amorite from the Canaanite. They are regarded as two different peoples (p. 160). On p. 25 the Amorites are "non-Semitic." Cushanrisha-thaim is an Aramæan king of Mesopotamia (p. 230). His invasion the author places before Tiglathpileser I., *i. e.*, before 1120 B. C. But as Canaan was entered according to our author in 1160 B. C. a period of but forty years at the most is allowed for the conquest and first settlement before this invasion. While we are on chronology, observe (on p. 255) that Shishak reigned to B. C. 924 but is said to have invaded Judah in 920 B. C. The Egyptian king is said to have captured *Gaza* (p. 251) for Solomon, not *Gezer*, as in 1 Kings 9:16. Is this a misprint? The Chronicler's Zerah is Osorkon I. (a misprint for O. II.)! McCurdy's opinion of the Assyrians is very unfavorable. Is it true that "the satisfaction of the lust of power and gain was always the practical end of their conquests" (p. 207)? That Assyria regarded itself as the heir of Babylonian sovereignty in the west (p. 213) is doubtful, since the testator was still alive. On p. 261 Asshur-dan I. (why not Ashshur-dan or Assur-dan?) should be A. II. Did Jehu really make a league with Assyria and become a "fawning suppliant" (p. 287)? There is much doubt whether Ramman-nirari III. ever made an expedition into Israel. "Mantsuati" (p. 298) proves nothing, as a careful reading of II. R in the passage cited will show. What makes our author so certain as to state positively that Hezekiah received a visitation and warning from Sargon (p. 331)?

In the use of geographical terms we note the incorrect Leontes (for Litany) and Anti-Lebanon. We must confess that the way of spelling the names of cities and countries is very confusing. Sometimes the name is given the technical spelling and put in italic, and a few lines down it receives transliteration unto the ordinary nomenclature and roman type. Modern and ancient names are used interchangeably. We have the mention of Aramæan tribes near "Baghdad" (p. 336), also "Aleppo" and "Beyrut." Where did our author get the extraordinary Caelo-Syria? "Asshur" (p. 229) is a mis-

print for Asher. Another misprint is "principle" (p. 147). A curious ambiguity of language is found on p. 75 — Israel "was less than one hundred times as large as Assyria." Another confused statement is made at the bottom of p. 410 about the famous year 763 B.C., and its eclipse. Does the writer hold that we get the date 763 B.C., apart from the eclipse and that then the astronomical reckoning corroborates it?

A word of hearty praise for this excellent book, which we have found to be not without its grave weaknesses, should close this notice. The value of it is beyond all question. The conception which pervades it respecting the necessity of putting Hebrew history into its relations to other contemporaneous history in order rightly to understand it, is admirable. Equally valuable is the recognition of the religious element in all oriental history. The great fact of pre-Israelitish history, viz., the predominating Babylonian influence in western Asia is kept constantly in view and its significance duly emphasized. The deep meaning underlying the historical career of Israel, while in details sometimes exaggerated, is yet steadily and rightly insisted upon. Indeed, as we have already intimated, the book is simply indispensable to any one who would understand the Old Testament history.

G. S. G.

Manual of Egyptian Archæology and Guide to the study of Antiquities in Egypt. For the Use of Students and Travelers. By G. MASPERO, D.C.L., Oxon. Translated by Amelia B. Edwards. New Edition, Revised and Enlarged by the Author. With three hundred and nine Illustrations. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1895.

This indispensable companion of the tourist in Egypt, or of the Egyptian enthusiast anywhere is already familiar to us under the title, "Egyptian Archæology," which passed through three editions. Maspero's wide experience in the field and extensive knowledge of the material have enabled him to present a work, which will undoubtedly be widely used in the future as it has heretofore been, and we repeat that for the student of Egypt the book is indispensable. Nevertheless, if the book has enjoyed the personal supervision of the author, as the title assures us it has, there are many things which must be explained. Passing over the arrangement of the book, and the method pursued in the treatment (for they are the same as in the previous editions), we take up some special points.

In the first place it is really incredible that Maspero should have retained his strikingly unsystematic treatment of the Egyptian dwelling-house in the first chapter. Any one who will compare it with the clear and methodical treatment of Erman, will wonder how his results could have been ignored by Maspero; but the only improvement Maspero offers is the insertion of a few plates from Petrie's "Illahun, Kahun and Gurob." Moreover, the unpardonably incorrect plan of the so-called "Palace of Ai" reappears as in all the

previous editions, with one of the doors in the front omitted and each of the four altars in the great court supplied with a door and a lintel and thus converted into four great portals! There is another altar in the central court, but Maspero still persists in calling the structure a dwelling, though no one ever heard of an Egyptian dwelling with five altars, or any altar at all.

In the account of the ancient canals, it is rather surprising not to find the canal around the first cataract mentioned. The canal itself to be sure has not yet been located, but we are morally certain of its existence from the inscription discovered by Mr. Wilbur on the Island of Sehel. In the same connection Maspero repeats his conviction that Lake Moeris was a myth. In the very convincing results of Mr. Petrie's investigations do not appeal to Maspero, no one can object, but it is hardly just to the student that he should not be made acquainted at least with the fact of their existence, in a three line footnote. In this connection we may also add, that the book would be far more useful as a text-book, if footnotes had been added informing the student as to the sources of the numerous illustrations, just as Maspero has so carefully done in his "Dawn of Civilization."

In his account of the sphinx, Maspero follows the traditional belief in its great age and makes it possibly prehistoric. Everyone knows there is a IVth Dynasty mummy shaft cut down through the back, which must certainly have been there before the statue was hewn. This and the above are a few out of numerous examples in the work, of an inclination to settle debated questions by a mere *ipse dixit*.

With the above exceptions the book has been very well brought up to date. Notwithstanding the added material and ten new illustrations, the form of the work has been so well compressed by the publishers, without altering the size of the page, that it is much less bulky than the previous editions, a fact which will be appreciated by the tourist.

At least for the account of the sculpture, the publishers should have used new plates, for the illustrations in this section are hopelessly bad. The magnificent statue of Khafre' (p. 218) has been transformed into cross-eyed hideousness which mocks the encomiums of Maspero in the text. New plates would greatly have improved the work throughout.

J. H. B.

The Song of Solomon and the Lamentations of Jeremiah (Expositor's Bible),
By WALTER F. ADENEY, M.A., Professor of New Testament Exegesis,
and Church History, New College, London. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1895. Pages viii + 346. Price, \$1.50.

No book of the Bible has been a mine for such a variety of miners and mining-products as the Song of Solomon. From Origen to Spurgeon interpreters have painted a halo about its form, until it has entirely hidden the original body. If the methods which have been applied to the Song of

Solomon were legitimate for any and every other book of the Old or New Testaments, there is nothing either good or bad which could not be proved to be the opposite. Origenistic, and allegorical principles of interpretation have been the base of Scripture exegesis in the past, and their poison is not yet fully driven out of the blood of biblical students. But Professor Adeney has been iconoclastic enough to break through the temple which has hidden our book, and examine the thing itself. The A.V. countenances and indorses those old errors in the mischievous headings of its eight chapters, but the R.V., as the original, does not feed the reader on such stale and hurtful food.

Is the poem a unit? If so, its movement is jerky and hitchy. Its turns and breaks are sudden and unexpected. This has been explained by some writers on the ground of its being but a disconnected lot of independent lyrics. Unsatisfactory indeed is such a cutting of the knot, instead of patiently untying it. The poem is dressed throughout in the same rich, luxurious language, the same unique imagery, and casts the same glow of light. A careful examination of the plot reveals a surprising unity. Then is it an idyl or a drama? Indo-European ideas of the drama cannot be the standard for the measurement of Semitic productions. To call it a drama, necessarily makes it *sui generis*. Two classes of interpreters present plausible schemes of interpretation. (1) Solomon is the only lover, (2) the king is seeking to win the affections of the country maiden, "but is forestalled by a shepherd, fidelity to whom is shown by the Shulammitte in spite of the fascinations of the court" (p. 6). The former of these schemes is the less probable, while the latter can be sufficiently adjusted to all the requirements of the poem. The chief element in the poem which challenges the attention of the reader is not love, but fidelity, constancy as seen in the maiden absent from her rustic lover. This simple girl, proof against all the fascinations of the most splendid cant, who prefers to be the wife of the poor man whom she loves, and to whom she has plighted troth, to accepting a queen's crown at the cost of deserting her humble lover, is the type and example of a loyalty which is the more admirable because it appears where we should little expect to find it (p. 10).

Who wrote the book? Not Solomon, as he illustrates in every phase of his life the exact opposite of the truths of this poem. Professor Adeney decides that its style, contents, picturesqueness — all locate its time of composition within a half century after the death of the king whose name it bears (p. 13). In the exposition proper, the author gives a perfectly natural and sensible interpretation of the poem, such as will strike the approval of every all-around Bible student.

Of the 346 pages of this volume, 284 are devoted to an elaborate discussion and exposition of Lamentations. After a *pro* and *con* treatment of Jeremiah's authorship, the writer concludes that the book originated "at

some time during the second half of the sixth century," B.C. (p. 85 f.). It is certainly stamped with the vividness of an eyewitness. With a careful knowledge of those times, and of illustrative literature, Professor Adeney has constructed twenty-four telling discourses. PRICE.

The Book of Jeremiah, Chapters 21-52. By W. H. BENNETT, Professor of Old Testament Languages and Literature Hackney and New Colleges. A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1895. Pp. xx.+372. In the *Expositor's Bible*.

The former volume on Jeremiah, published in 1890, covering chaps. 1-20, was prepared by C. J. Ball. Professor Bennett is the author of the volume on the books of Chronicles which appeared in 1894. In Jeremiah, the chronological order of the prophecies is a question of great importance. In the book before us this problem is met by a table giving the principal dates and events of the period, with the chapters of Jeremiah's prophecy belonging to each. In this table the author is in general accord with the scholarship of the present day.

The exposition is in general sound and sensible. The historical situation in its changes is well portrayed. For popular impression, comparison with similar historical scenes and recent history is often made, although these are sometimes inadequate. The author occasionally resorts to conjecture where historical data are wanting. There is no manifestation of an undue homiletical tendency. No attempt is made to present the details of exegesis, although the author shows evident familiarity with the best and most recent work in this line. Full recognition is made of the necessity, in many cases, of emending the text, chiefly on the basis of the versions.

The general plan of the book is fairly open to criticism. The first two of the three parts give the impression of containing more history than exposition. A better plan is that followed in Ball's Jeremiah, Farrar's Daniel, and others of this series, where a few opening chapters contain a preliminary sketch of the history and the following ones a larger amount of exposition. A more comprehensive treatment of the period would have been desirable, including to greater extent the other prophets of the period, and showing the relation of the period as a whole to prophecy preceding and following. The reason this is not given is probably that this ground was considered to be sufficiently covered in the preceding volume on Jeremiah.

The author's point of view is that of most modern students of prophecy. He emphasizes the conditional element in prophecy. He does not seek an exact fulfilment of the seventy years of the exile, nor of other minor details of prophecy. The human element in Jeremiah's work is granted, as seen especially in his discouragement and his almost vindictive threatenings. Yet the author also emphasizes the fact that much of the severity of his language and demeanor came from the truth which came to him by inspiration. It is a human prophet here set before us, but one speaking a divine message. Most moderately liberal scholars would agree with these conclusions.

Among minor details may be mentioned the author's use of the "utterly erroneous term" Nebuchadnezzar, as it is called by Farrar, for which the reason given that it "has been an English household word for centuries" is insufficient. There are several minor typographical errors. One that is especially unfortunate, because tending to promote an already common confusion of terms, is the use of Nazarite instead of Nazirite, on page 46.

The present volume cannot be said to contribute very much that is new. In fact that is hardly the aim of the book. But it gives for general use a very serviceable and helpful work.

G. R. B.

In Scripture Lands: New Views of Sacred Places. By EDWARD L. WILSON. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895. Pp. ix. + 386. Price \$1.50. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.

Thirty Years' Work in the Holy Land. Published for the Committee of the Palestine Exploration Fund. New and revised edition. London: A. P. Watt & Son. New York: Macmillan & Co. Pp. 256. Price \$1.50.

It is significant of the increasing interest in the Holy Land and questions of scriptural geography that these two books should have appeared so nearly contemporaneously with that of Smith. The former is a smaller edition of a work already favorably known, and with its one hundred and fifty illustrations, most of them from photographs taken by the expert author, gives one a sense of having personally visited the places so vividly and entertainingly described. The second work is far less readable, and is in fact a summary of the history of the Palestine Exploration Fund. But it is exceedingly valuable, not only as introducing one more directly to the magnificent history of that organization, but as giving in succinct form the results of its exploration. Neither work is pretentious of great scholarship, but each is helpful in its own way. No pastor can afford to be without the work of Wilson at least. About the other there is more question. With the great work of Smith and the popular sketches of Wilson, one is enabled as never before to appreciate the extraordinary little land about which so much of the world's religious history has centered.

S. M.

Introduction to the Study of the Gospel of St. John. By J. P. MacLean, Ph.D. The Robert Clarke Company, Cincinnati, 1895. Price \$1.50.

This book is truly what it purports to be, a prolegomena to the Gospel of John. It is to be commended for its completeness. Discussions are presented of every topic which could occur in the study of the Gospel. It is to be commended, too, for its inductive study of several topics, notably of the character and identity of the author and readers. The other discussions may lack in freshness, and possibly give nothing that is new, but they are nevertheless a reasonably full and systematic treatment of the facts.

The authorship of the Apostle John is accepted. The Gospel is represented as the real ideality of the life of Jesus the Christ and the glorification of all the relations he sustains to the world.

There is at the end of the book an interlinear translation which can hardly be of any value.

C. E. W.

LITERARY NOTES.

FROM the Photochrom Company of Detroit, Michigan, comes a *Descriptive Catalogue of Photochroms*, Holy Land Series. If all the series are like the admirable sample view of the Temple Mount, it will be of great service, not only in giving accurate photographs of the places of Palestine, but also in furnishing them with their natural colors.

ATTENTION should again be called to the admirable series of *Bible Class Primers* (Edinburgh, T. T. Clark. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. Price 25 cents), various numbers of which have already been mentioned in our columns. Each new number of these little books is a distinct addition to the cause of intelligent Christianity. That to be mentioned at this time is *The Truth of Christianity* by Professor Iverach.

A SIMILAR set of little books by great authors is that of the *Guild Text Books* (New York: A. D. F. Randolph & Co.). The latest two of this admirable series are *Our Lord's Teaching* by Rev. James Robertson, D.D., and *The English Bible* by Rev. George Milligan, D.D.

Both of these series are tracts for the times.

JESUS, THE WORD OF GOD. By C. E. Chase. A book containing all the four Gospels of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John, chronologically arranged in parallel columns, without comment, followed by a comparative table showing the arrangements of Andrews, Broadus, Canon Farrar, Gardiner, Robinson, and Tischendorf. St. Joseph (Mo.) Combe Printing Co. We learn from the introduction, written by the author's pastor, that "The author of this book, setting forth in intensely harmonious vision, *Jesus, the Word of God*, as presented in the four gospel histories, is the ingenious, versatile and studious Professor of Commercial Law, Commercial Arithmetic, Phonography, Typewriting and Bookkeeping, in the High School of St. Joseph, Mo. He is also the much appreciated teacher of a large class of youth in the Sunday school of the First Methodist Episcopal Church, and is the third vice-president of the Ratcliff Epworth League, enthusiastically directing the young people in their 'literary department.'"

Whether or not this introduction will tend to arouse confidence in the accompanying harmony is certainly a fair question. But the book shows much earnest labor, and in its arrangement of the parallel passages has one striking excellence in that the columns are invariably maintained in their

proper positions, and are never spread over the page. Also, the idea, at least, of the outline column has certain advantages. As a piece of scholarly apparatus, however, the book has no claim upon students.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

- J. R. McDuff, D.D.* Tales of the Warrior-King, Life and Times of David King of Israel. (New York: American Tract Society, 1895, xvi+356.) Price, \$2.00.
- L. J. Coppin.* The Key to Scriptural Interpretation, or Expository Notes on Obscure Passages. (Philadelphia: A. M. E. Publishing House.)
- J. F. Ellingwood* (reported by), Metaphors and Similes of Henry Ward Beecher. With an introduction by Homer B. Sprague. (New York: Arthur J. Graham & Co., pp. 217). Price \$1.00.
- E. N. Kirby, A.B.*, formerly instructor in Elocution in Harvard University and Professor of Elocution and Oratory in Boston University. Public Speaking and Reading. A Treatise on Delivery according to the Principles of the New Elocution. (Boston: Lee & Shepard, p. 211).
- Annie Fellows Johnson.* Joel; a Boy of Galilee. With ten illustrations by Victor A. Searls. (Boston: Roberts Bros., pp. 253. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.)
- Rev. James Stalker.* The Life of Jesus Christ. New and revised edition. (Chicago: J. H. Revell Co., pp. 167). Price 60 cents.
- M. C. Hazard, Ph.D.* Home Classes, or the Home Department of the Sunday School. (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society, pp. 145). Price 50 cents.
- D'Arcy, Charles F.* A Short Study of Ethics. (London, Macmillan & Co.; Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co.) \$1.60.
- Carpenter, W. Boyd,* Bishop of Ripon. Some Thoughts on Christian Reunion. Seven addresses given during his visitation in June 1895. (London, Macmillan & Co., 1895; Chicago, A. C. McClurg & Co.) \$1.25.
- Gibson, Isaac.* The Pentateuch and Joshua, or, The Hexateuch Historical. A Short Study in the Higher Criticism. (Philadelphia, G. W. Jacobs & Co.)
- Makower, Felix,* barrister in Berlin. The Constitutional History and Constitution of the Church of England. Translated from the German. (New York, Macmillan & Co.)
- Milligan, George.* The English Bible. A Sketch of its History. (A. D. F. Randolph & Co.; Guild-Text Books.) \$0.30.
- Robinson, Miss L. L.* The Story of Jesus of Nazareth; with text-book appendix. (Milwaukee, Young Churchman Co.)
- Scott, C. A.* The Making of Israel From Joseph to Israel. (Bible-Class Primers.) (Edinburgh, T. & T. Clark; New York, Chas. Scribner's Sons.) \$0.25.
- Spurgeon, C. H.* The Soul-Winner; or, How to Lead Sinners to the Saviour. (Chicago, F. H. Revell Co.) \$1.25.
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Charles, R. H. The Seven Heavens, an Early Jewish and Christian Belief. (The Expos. Times, Nov., 57-61; Dec., 115-18.)

Good, James J. The Antistes of Zürich. (The Presb. and Ref. Review, October.)

Ihering, Rudolph von. Contributions to Biblical Exegesis. (The Jewish Quart. Rev., viii., 185-8.)

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Ménégoz on Biblical Miracles. (See The Thinker, Nov., 462-3.)

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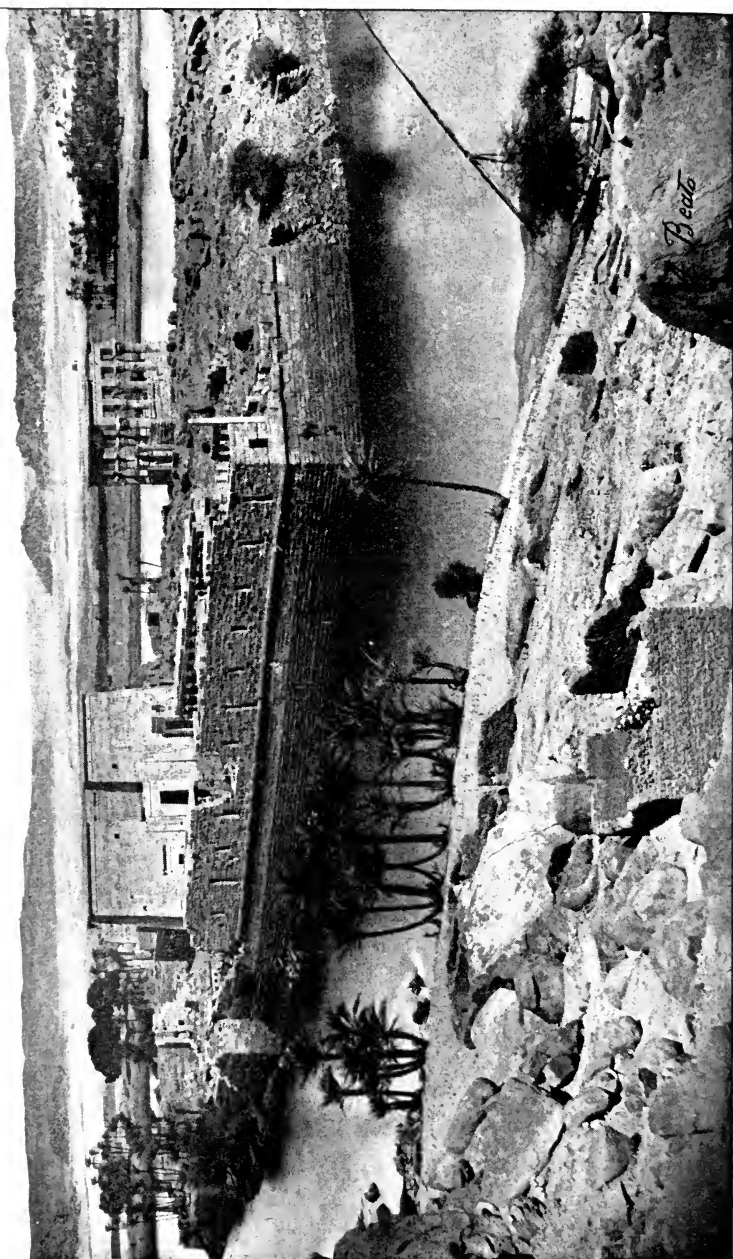
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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VII.

MARCH, 1896

NUMBER 3

WE are accustomed to say that one's study of the Bible must be shaped by the point of view which he has in mind.

*POINTS OF
VIEW IN
BIBLE STUDY*

For every point of view, we are told, there must be a method of study. The Bible is a collection of books intended not only to reach many different personalities, but also to accomplish many different results. One's method of study must be determined, therefore, by the result which he is seeking to secure. We have asked ourselves whether this conception is really correct. Would such a principle, if we may so designate it, apply to any other subject of study? Is there a different kind of preparatory work for every specific application which is to be made of mathematics? May it not be true that right here we shall be able to find a mistake in the common treatment of this question, which will account largely for the lack of unity in the many honest efforts put forth to secure a working knowledge of biblical truth?

THE active Christian worker, whose soul is filled with a desire to turn men to a knowledge of Jesus Christ, finds his best help

*VARIOUS KINDS
OF STUDY*

in the appropriate use of Scripture texts. He therefore studies the Bible in order to equip himself with those utterances which, when quoted, will enable him to accomplish, to the best advantage, the hand-to-hand work on the street or in the inquiry-room. His work is

practical. His study of the Bible he calls a *practical* study. The child of God, weary with the burdens of life, desiring comfort and help, knows that these may be obtained in the pages of Sacred Scripture. With calm assurance these pages are opened and read. That which was sought, encouragement and assistance, are obtained. This is called the *devotional* use of the Bible. The teacher appointed to convey to his fellowmen systematic information concerning the Bible and its doctrines, searches on every side for that special utterance of God himself, or of Jesus Christ, or of the prophet or apostle, which, properly interpreted, will support and enforce a particular teaching. In this case the Bible is studied from the *theological* point of view. The student in literature soon learns that nowhere in ancient or modern text may he find more beautiful expressions of sincere thought and feeling than those to which the poets, prophets, and apostles of old gave utterance. He examines these pieces of literature as works of art, for indeed they are such. This is called the *literary* study of the Bible. There are others who examine this same wonderful collection of literature not from the standpoint of the artistic expression of the soul's feelings, but from that of style and vocabulary, with a view to comparison with earlier or later productions, in order to study the development of linguistic expression. We think of this as the *philological* study of the Scriptures. Moreover, there are those who study the Bible as history. They find in it the record of the growth and development of great religious ideas; ideas which are found nowhere else, and which had their origin in connection with one or another of a series of historical events. This history, touching as it does the history of every important nation which has lived its life in the world, seems in some strange way to have been controlled and regulated in order that out of it and by means of it great truths should gradually be made known. The history and the truth seem to be inseparable, and in a study of one the other also is studied. Such work is generally classified as the *historical* study of the Bible. Still other kinds of Bible study might be designated. These, however, will suffice. The question is, Are these distinct one from another? Is it

necessary, in the nature of the case, to approach the Bible in these different ways, or is it possible that one or more of these methods is fundamental? Will a real and satisfactory study include all? Let us consider this question in detail.

To make the best practical use of the Bible in work with those whose minds are not turned towards God, a verse, or collection of verses quoted indiscriminately will, in the great majority of cases, fail to accomplish the end desired. The exception to this statement is rare.

**PRACTICAL AND
DEVOTIONAL
STUDY**

One need only think for a moment in order to realize that mere words, without frame-work of history or background of philosophic statement, are valueless. This does not, however, mean that the person addressed is familiar with the historical frame-work, or with the philosophical statement; but it must be remembered that the human mind works in accordance with great laws established by the Creator of the mind. In order, therefore, to be practical in the best sense of that word, in order to be carried out practically in the lives of men, whether before or after conversion, this precious word must be viewed as a message of comfort and guidance. It will also be found that it must accord with the great plan of God for man's deliverance—a plan as rigid and systematic as any law of nature, and that, as the heart of man has been prone through all the ages to express itself in forms of art and literature, this same human heart when guided by God will find its purest expression in the same forms. It follows that a study of these utterances as connected with a plan and as works of art will carry us back most closely to the hearts which first gave them form, and consequently very close to the God who inspired them in the hearts of men. Nor should the practical student ignore linguistic study. If, as he believes, these utterances are the utterances of God, if they are the best expression of God's will possible in language; if language is capable of expressing the finer shades of thought, and if the use and arrangement of particular words determine in large measure the sense and significance of the entire passage, surely the most critical philological study of the

sacred word will have the most practical results. Most practical of all, however, is the *historical* study. The edge of truth often proclaimed becomes dull. The abstract statement of thought does not touch the average mind. For a better understanding of a given utterance on the part of him who preaches, and for a more efficient use of that utterance, nothing is so helpful as a knowledge of the historical circumstances out of which, and in connection with which the utterance was made. Many a lifeless presentation of truth would be made vivid and forceful by the introduction of the historical element. Just as truly as it was necessary for God himself through the historical event to reveal the truth, so it is necessary for the teacher or preacher by the use of the historical background to proclaim the truth. This statement applies likewise to the devotional use of scripture. The Bible is the source of spiritual help because in it are recorded the experiences of God's children. *Life contains no trial of which the Bible lacks a record.* Does one who has been greatly blessed by God and is seeking for some inspired expression of gratitude for the blessing, find satisfaction in reading a penitential psalm? In order to bring one's self into spiritual harmony with a particular passage, there must be harmony, likewise, between the situation of the worshiper, and the situation of the inspired writer. How may this be ascertained except by a study which shall acquaint one with the many possible historical situations from which have come inspired utterances? Yet all such study is, in the truest sense, *historical* study, although the individual may not have been conscious of the fact.

BUT how is it with the theological and literary use of the Bible? Do these stand alone? A successful study or teaching of the doctrines of scripture will be measured by the adaptation of the results to the wants of humanity. A theological statement which does not fit into the facts of human nature, and which does not result in the uplifting of humanity, must be defective. By this we do not mean to contend that a statement must be tested by the way in

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STUDY

which it satisfies the mind of the average man. However deeply philosophical, it must be practical, and capable of practical application. However abstract, it must include the experience of the human heart in its struggles and in its sufferings. On the other hand, in any study which is so dependent upon correct expression as is the theological study of the Scriptures the painstaking work of the philologist must be fundamental. It is also true that if theological statement is the systematic formulation of truth concerning God, if mankind has come to know God gradually from century to century, if God has seen fit to reveal his attributes, that is himself, in events of history as interpreted by prophet and apostle, in the history of the chosen people and in the history of the Christ himself, how can there be theological study worthy of the name which is not, from its beginning to its close, historical study.

The position taken may not seem so clear in the case of the literary study of the Bible, and yet is anything more practical than art, whether its form be painting, music, or literature? Is anything more tangible, more real? Is it not the very embodiment of the inner soul, as that soul interprets itself to God and man? If life is real and practical, and if a literature is the expression of true life, and thought, then a literary study of the Bible which does not have a practical end and which does not attain practical results is not true study. If in the purest and truest literature the soul expresses its experience and its aspirations under varied circumstances, how can the literary study of the Bible, if properly conducted, be other than devotional? We have as little sympathy with those who would cut asunder literature and history as with those who ignore the historical element in theology. The great literatures are but the expression of thought moulded and influenced by history, although we must remember that there is a history of the individual as well as of the nation, a history of the soul, subjective, as well as a history of the man, objective. The niceties of David's lyrics are best appreciated by those who know David's life. The depths of Job's utterances can be well understood only by those who appreciate the sufferings of the exile which called them forth.

BUT surely it can be said that the linguistic and the historical points of view in Bible study are independent of all others. Yet *is this true?* It is possible for one to engage in the *LINGUISTIC AND HISTORICAL STUDY* philological study of a word, or expression, without regard to the use which shall be made of the results of such study. It is possible that one may investigate the details of an historical event without a thought of using in any way the results of the investigation. This, we say, is possible. Is it probable? We are sometimes urged to seek knowledge for the sake of knowledge; truth for the sake of truth, without reference to anything of a utilitarian character. This is an ideal position. Is it a correct ideal? As a matter of fact, the purpose of every sincere man, in his work as philologist or historian, is to ascertain truth, because truth, whether old truth in new dress, or new truth, will affect thought, and thought will enter into life and character. Philological and historical study, as such, mean nothing. It is only as they are conducted, in order to secure practical ends; in order to reproduce exactly the thoughts and experience of God's servants of old, that God's servants of the present day may use them as the expression of their own thought and experience; in order to present the reflection of the divinity which that divinity itself projected; in order to present vividly and intelligibly the word-pictures of the world's greatest artists,—it is only, we say, when used for such purposes that they are prosecuted worthily. Are they then in any true sense independent?

IN conclusion, it would seem that these so-called points of view for approach to the Bible are interrelated in every possible way. Do they sustain any relationship to each other? Is there after all real logic in this apparently superficial arrangement of these various *INTERRELATION OF VARIOUS KINDS OF STUDY* methods of approach? Does not a closer study reveal two facts: (1) that any true Bible study will include all; that, indeed, instead of being different points of view from which to approach the Bible, they constitute a series of steps, one rising above the other? And when regarded closely, these

are not steps toward the Bible, but steps forward, which the child of God may take with the Bible in his hand and in his heart; which, indeed, he must take, consciously or unconsciously, for the highest fulfilment of the obligations which an acceptance of the Christian faith involves. (2) That these steps are to be taken in the reverse way, two by two, beginning with the historical and critical study, for these are the foundation. In proportion as this work is done thoroughly, that which remains may be performed faithfully. There follow the literary and theological, and then, last of all, the devotional and practical.

One word more. Do we mean to say that there can be no *devotional* or *practical* use of Scripture unless such use be preceded by the others named? No. God in his goodness often makes it possible for those who have yielded to the influence of the Holy Spirit, as it were by instinct, to understand the use of the divine utterance. This, however, does not relieve them from the responsibility of such historical and critical, such literary and theological study, as may be within their reach. If, however, men's minds were given by God to be used; if intelligence counts for anything, there is incumbent upon us an *intelligent* study of the Bible, that is, a study which makes one intelligent in respect to the history back of the utterances, the exact meaning of the utterances, the full force of the ideal sought to be conveyed, and the great plan of God in accordance with which all of it was given. And besides, it is reasonable to suppose that in this field, as well as in other fields, the well-equipped mind is capable of more keenly appreciating thought, whether human or divine, and of using such thought to the greatest possible advantage.

FOUR TYPES OF CHRISTIAN THOUGHT.

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IV. THE FOURTH GOSPEL.

The two conceptions of the authorship of the gospel.—The author's conception of Jesus.—The fundamental categories of the gospel: the eternal and the absolute.—The theology of the gospel: 1. eternal life; 2 the conception of God; 3. doctrine of man; 4. the conception of Christ; 5. the death of Christ; 6. the means of attaining the summum bonum.—Conclusion.

THE authorship of the fourth gospel is still a vexed question. But recent criticism narrows the issue to these alternatives: either the Apostle John or a disciple belonging to the Christian School at Ephesus, which looked up to that apostle as its master.

The main difficulty in the way of those who lean to the former alternative is not the lack of external evidence, but how to conceive of one who has been with Jesus giving so different a presentation of his personality from that offered by the synoptic gospels. The contrast might be briefly and broadly put thus: The first three gospels show us a real man who seems Godlike, the fourth shows us a real God who seems only imperfectly manlike. Those who oppose the Johannine authorship say that the former of these two presentations is what we expect from a companion of Jesus, and that the latter could only have come from one who had not known Jesus in the days of his earthly career.

The *words* of Jesus are as different in the two contrasted presentations as the personality. It is not easy to regard the reports of these in the two instances as both alike primary. This is felt by all, though opinion differs as to which of the two representations comes the nearer to the manner of Jesus. The preponderance of opinion is in favor of the comparative originality of the synoptic tradition. This view is supported by such com-

paratively conservative scholars as Weiss, Sanday, and Watkins, who in common hold that in the hands of the fourth evangelist the words of Jesus have undergone transformation, these words coming to us in his pages, not always as actually spoken, but in the form they had assumed under the reflective activity of the reporter's mind.

On this view the Johannine report of our Lord's words, shows us not merely, in substance, the teaching of the Great Master, but the theology of the disciple, the fruitage of Christian thought on Christ and Christianity which had grown up from the seeds dropped into receptive minds by the Master. Accepting provisionally this hypothesis, let us study the type of thought on the great themes of Christian faith exhibited in the pages of this remarkable writing.

Following the plan presented in the previous papers our first question should be: What is the author's general conception of the good which came to the world through Jesus Christ? But it will be more convenient to begin with the question: What is his conception of Christ himself, as it is answered in a decisive though preliminary way in the prologue (1:1-18). This will give us an opportunity of becoming acquainted with the author's peculiar manner of thought. The great subject of the book is in the prologue set forth as a Divine Being possessing divine attributes, relations and powers, to whom it happened that he became flesh. This august being is called the Logos, and, as befits a Divine Being, he is conceived of as in his essential being *Eternal*. "In the beginning was the word," *i. e.*, in a beginning which had no beginning. The incarnation and earthly life of the Logos are thus reduced to the position of an incident in the life of an Eternal Being. A necessary incident doubtless, without which the faith in the Logos would cease to be distinctively Christian, and become a mere philosophic theorem like that of Philo. Yet the life of the Logos in mortal flesh was only a tabernacling (ἐσκήνωσεν); his proper home then and always was in the bosom of the Father (1:18).

The predominance of the idea of the *Eternal* in the prologue is *one* thing to be noted. Another is the *absolute* manner in

which the writer thinks. He deals in broad unqualified antitheses; there is no shading. The pervading antithesis here is *light* and *darkness*. The Logos is the light, the world as a whole is in darkness; the world Jewish and the world Gentile—neither knows him; he is for both the sun hidden by a dense mist. All over is darkness, save among the chosen band of those who believe in Jesus.

These two categories, the eternal and the absolute, dominate the thought of the evangelist throughout. He looks at all things *sub specie æternitatis*, and moves in the groove of unmitigated contrasts. Let me dwell on this a little.

To the influence of the former of these two categories, the Eternal, it is due that there is, properly speaking, no progress in the history of the incarnate Logos. From the divine point of view there is no distinction between now and then, here and there, beginning and end, root and fruit. The divine point of view is the evangelist's. He is a mystic, and looks at things with God's eyes. There must be history, of course, subjection to the category of time, in the life of an incarnate being, but the writer, while conscious of this time element, endeavors to reduce its influence to a minimum. There is in his story no birth, no boyhood, no slow arrival at manhood, no growth in wisdom and stature. The Logos simply becomes *Flesh*. Similarly in the story of the public life there is little trace of progress, except in so far as concerns purely external events, such as the successive sacred festivals. There is not in the fourth gospel, as in the synoptists, a particular time at which Jesus began to speak plainly about his Christhood or his Passion. That he is the Messiah, and that he is the sacrificial lamb, are truths familiar to all parties (John the Baptist included 1:29), from the first. The Passion of Jesus and his Glorification are for the most part not distinguished as antecedent and consequent, but identified. When the traitor leaves the supper chamber Jesus says, "Now is the Son of Man glorified." This identification of *now* and *then* takes place *a parte ante* as well as *a parte post*. "Before Abraham was, I am" (8:8). The distinction between here and there, earth and heaven, is obliterated. The Son of Man even on earth is in heaven. "No

man hath ascended up to heaven, but he that come down from heaven, even the Son of Man" (3:13).

The category of the *absolute* is not less dominant in the Johannine type of thought. There is no shading in moral distinction; only one grand cleavage between good and evil, light and darkness, life and death, sons of God and sons of the devil. The most outstanding and significant illustration of this is the absence from this gospel of all traces of the diverse attitudes assumed by Jesus towards the Pharisees and scribes on the one hand and the publicans and sinners on the other. This diversity is very conspicuous in the first three gospels. Towards the scribes and Pharisees Jesus there appears ever severe and hopeless of their coming to see that their way of righteousness which seemed to them right was altogether wrong. Towards the publicans and sinners on the other hand, his tone in the same gospels is uniformly gentle, compassionate and hopeful. He does not despair of their conversion. He even regards it as not impossible that they, the last and lowest in general esteem, may become the first and highest in the kingdom of heaven. This is a difference which has to be taken into account in our estimate of the respective values of these gospels, as a revelation of the character and spirit of Jesus. Since the days of Clement of Alexandria there has been a tendency to acquiesce in the view that the first three gospels show us only the exterior of Jesus, while the fourth lets us see into his very heart. Personally I cannot accept this judgment. The Jesus of the synoptists is more human and humane, more considerate and discriminating, distinguishes between degrees of guilt according to varying measures of knowledge, sources of temptation, and the intrinsic differences in the nature of offenses. He hates the sins of falsehood, pride and tyranny; he pities the sinner who has been much sinned against, who has been carried headlong by impulse, who knows he is a sinner and has moments of bitter regret when he would gladly be delivered from sin's bondage. This pity of Jesus is very dear to me as a trait in his character and as a revelation of the heart of God, and when I want to refresh my mind with a new impression of it, it is to Matthew, Mark, and Luke I must go, not to John.

Another instance of this absolute, unqualified style of moral judgment may be found in these words containing a comparison between Christ and other religious guides: "I am the door of the sheep. All that ever came before me are thieves and robbers" (10:7, 8). The words express in essence a true claim of Jesus, which he himself advanced when he accepted from his disciples the title "Christ," and when in the sermon on the mount he set himself in antithesis to the ancient masters in Israel by the formulæ: "Ye have heard that it was said by them of old time," "but I say unto you." But the claim is expressed, after the manner of this evangelist, in unqualified terms which give us again a truth without shading where shading is needed. "Thieves and robbers" are the emblem of religious guides who are absolutely false in their doctrines and selfish and inhuman in their motives. There have been such shepherds of the people in every land and in every religion. At the beginning of the Christian era there were such among the pagans; such also among the Jews: misleading false-hearted scribes to whom probably the epithets are mainly meant to apply. But *all* who went before Jesus, or who were contemporary with him, were not of this type, the very ideal of falsehood and rapacity realized. There were differences even among the rabbis, some good mixed with evil in their teaching and life, *e. g.*, in the case of Hillel, and in every land there have been spiritual shepherds with some of heaven's light in them, as we should expect even from the declaration of the evangelist in his prologue that the Logos is the light of every man that cometh into the world.

If we keep these two general characteristics of Johannine thought before our minds, it will help us to understand the theology of this gospel.

1. And first its leading conception of the good which came to the world through Jesus Christ which is most frequently called *eternal life*. This expression occurs about a score of times, whereas "the kingdom of God," the name for the same thing in the synoptical gospels, occurs only once or twice. What does the expression mean? Well, in the first place, after what we know of the Johannine manner of thought, it may be taken for

granted that it means life *absolute*, life indeed, the true life, life worth living, life which realizes the ideal, the *summum bonum* therefore might be called *life* simpliciter, as accordingly it frequently is in the gospel. But the epithet "eternal" is not on that account superfluous. It suggests additional thoughts concerning the true life. It implies that that life from the divine point of view is one with reference to which the distinctions of time, place, and quality, now and then, here and there, imperfect and perfect, dwindle into insignificance. It is the same yesterday, today, and forever, the same on earth as in heaven, subject to no law of gradual growth, but perfect from the beginning. It is from the first a full life: "Of his fulness have all we received;" a life like an artesian well leaping up with sudden forceful spring, and flowing in full volume perennially, a *sinless* life, wholly emancipated from the bondage of sin: "Whosoever committeth sin is the servant of sin—if the Son therefore, shall make you free, ye shall be free indeed" (8:34-36), to which answers the declaration in the First Epistle of John, "Whosoever is born of God doth not commit sin." These statements are true only in the region of the divine ideal; they do not answer to the facts of actual experience. In experience there is a difference between now and then, between the beginning and end of the new life, between that life here below and that life as it will be in heaven above. This is partly acknowledged by the occasional references to the resurrection at the last day, and by the use of such an expression as this: "I am come that they might have life and that they might have it more abundantly" (10:10). The allusion to resurrection implies that the life is to be consummated by a future event; the distinction between life and abundant life suggests degrees of spirituality and growth in vital power and enjoyment. In such cases the thought of the gospel, at home in the Divine and Eternal, stoops down for a moment to the human and the temporal.

2. *The conception of God.*—The prevailing name for God in this gospel is "The Father." In the first three gospels it is "Your Father who is in Heaven." The Johannine expression points to a relation internal to Godhead between an eternal

Father and an eternal Son. "The only begotten Son which is in the bosom of the Father" (1:18). The divine Fatherhood does indeed also concern men. Believers on Jesus are empowered to become sons of God (1:12). But thereby they are as it were deified, taken up into the absolute, perfect life of God, along with him in whom they believe. "I in them and they in me, that they may be perfected into one" (17:23). This unity between the eternal Son and those who become sons in time finds recognition in the end of the gospel, in the post-resurrection utterance, "Go to my brethren and say unto them: I ascend unto my Father and your Father, and to my God and your God" (20:17).

Of a universal aspect of a divine Fatherhood in providence or in grace, there is no trace in this gospel. What the Johannine doctrine of the Fatherhood gains in *height* it loses in *breadth*. There is indeed in the gospel a most pronounced *Christian* universalism, *i. e.*, a proclamation of the truth that the blessings of salvation are not for Jews only. The sons of God are born not of blood (1:12). Salvation, though of the Jews, is not for Jews alone, but for all in any place who worship the Father in spirit and in truth (4:23). The true Shepherd has other sheep than those of the Jewish fold (10:16); the Christ when lifted up will draw all men unto him (12:32). But that God is good to all, Christian or non-Christian, is not a truth which the evangelist has any mission to proclaim in language similar to that in which Jesus teaches the universal bounty of God's paternal providence in sunshine and shower in the sermon on the mount.

3. Corresponding to this high but narrow doctrine of the divine Fatherhood is the Johannine doctrine of *man*. There is no shading in moral distinction such as we have seen is implied in the diverse attitude assumed by our Lord toward the scribes and Pharisees on the one hand and the publicans and sinners on the other. The good are very good, the evil very evil. The good are the children of the light, the evil the children of the darkness; the good are the sons of God, the evil the sons of the evil one; the good are the objects of God's love, the evil

the abiding objects of his wrath (3:36). It is a dualism so thorough-going as to suggest a doubt whether God could have been the common Maker of men so entirely different in their moral nature. The common origin if not denied is treated as a matter of subordinate moment in comparison with the moral diversity. To unbelieving Jews insisting upon their descent from God and Abraham it is replied: Ye are of your father the devil, and by implication it is asserted that the children have been murderers *from the beginning, i. e.*, by nature, inherently (8:44). This does not amount to Manichæism; it is simply an unqualified way of asserting the actual distinction between men as good and evil, similar to Paul's strong way of asserting the malign influence of the flesh. But it is incidental to this unqualified manner of teaching that it should resemble Manichæan dualism so closely that if we cannot affirm such a dualism is taught as little can we affirm that it is excluded or denied. That is the Scylla of an anthropology in which there is no shading. Of course there is a Charybdis approached by an anthropology in which shading has full scope, that, viz., of minimizing moral distinctions, seeing so much good in the bad and so much bad in the good that the difference between regenerate and irregnate, sons of God and sons of Belial, disappears. The Scylla has been the rock of offense for a scholastic theology not skilled in the historical methods of biblical interpretation; the Charybdis is the peril of modern literature entirely indifferent to theological theory, and devoted exclusively to the realistic presentation of the facts of the moral world.

4. We have already made ourselves acquainted in a preliminary way with the Johannine *conception of Christ*. But there are many texts besides the prologue that bear on the subject of Christology. To these belong many assertions put into the mouth of Jesus, which may for our purpose be regarded as propositions of faith which have sprung up in the evangelist's mind from the seeds of our Lord's words about himself, and from the impression made by his whole life as witnessed by the disciples. Of these the following are samples: I am the bread of life; I and the Father are one.

These and the like statements amount to a declaration that Jesus Christ is the absolutely sufficient provision for the spiritual needs of humanity; therefore God, because God alone can satisfy and fill the heart of man: "Whom have I in heaven but thee and there is none upon earth that I desire beside thee." There can be no doubt that the Jesus of the fourth gospel is strictly divine. The categories of the divine and the absolute are applied to him without abatement. He is so divine that the human element may seem imperilled; the glory of the divine Logos so shines through the transparent veil of the flesh as to make the latter seem docetic, rather than a vulgar reality. Care is indeed taken to guard the reality of the human. The history recorded guarantees it. Jesus feels weariness, thirsts, weeps, fears the approaching passion, yet the divine strangely asserts itself, as when those who had come to apprehend Jesus fall to the ground on hearing the words: ἐγώ εἰμι, "I am he." It is certainly not the divine element that is doubtful in the historic presentation of the incarnate Logos. The attempt of Beyschlag to show that the Johannine Logos is simply the ideal man must be pronounced a brilliant failure.

5. *The death of Christ.*—With reference to Christ himself the passion viewed *sub specie æternitatis* is his glorification: "The hour is come" said Jesus when the desire of Greeks was reported to him, "The hour is come when the Son of Man should be glorified" (12:23). The hour is the hour of crucifixion, as appears from the word spoken immediately after about the grain of wheat becoming fruitful by death. With reference to men the passion is represented by various analogies as a source of spiritual power. The uplifted Son of Man will heal like the uplifted brazen serpent in the wilderness (3:14), and draw men to him like a magnet (12:32). The good shepherd comes between the wolf and the sheep and exposes his life to peril that they may escape (10:11). The Saviour dying resembles a grain of wheat cast into the ground and becoming by death the fruitful cause of life multiplied an hundredfold (12:24). These sayings state the effect of Christ's death in terms of historic precedent or natural law. They all show that the death of Jesus, far from being a mere

waste of life, was destined to be a source of signal benefit, and help us by analogies to see how that can be. They do not accomplish much more than this. They do not express or suggest any theological theory of the atonement. Herein the fourth gospel differs from the epistles of Paul. In another respect the former differs from the latter. Paul looks at the death of Jesus by itself as something unique, to be explained in terms applicable to no other experience. The evangelist describes the effect of Christ's death in terms admitting of universal application. Every good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep when needful. The corn of wheat fruitful by death is an emblem of every sacrificial life. In all such lives the one through death becomes the manifold. He who loses life in the spirit of self-sacrifice, not only gains it for himself but communicates it to others.

Here we recognize once more the dominion of the category of the absolute. No distinction between master and disciple; in either alike the same law exemplified; Christ's death not *sui generis*, but the highest instance of a universal principle. Where I am there (in life or in death, in suffering or in influence) shall also my servant be (12:26). The Father sent the Son into the world, the Son in turn sends his disciples to be what he has been, lights, saviours (17:1). True, the distinction is not entirely ignored. The Master is the *vine*, the disciples are the *branches*. Without him they cannot be fruitful. But on the other hand he is fruitful through them. The branches are the vine's instruments of fruitfulness, and they are fruitful through the sap of the vine flowing into them. The Lord is not apart from his people. A mystic identity prevails between them. They and he are one in vocation and in the experience which is a condition of power.

6. One more topic remains, the *way* of entrance into life, the *means of attaining* the *summum bonum*. Justification by faith is Paul's watchword. What is John's? Well, there is very frequent mention of faith in the fourth gospel, as frequent probably as in the Pauline epistles; and the object of faith is in general the same in the gospel as in Paul's epistles—Jesus Christ. Yet a difference is perceptible here. Faith for Paul, in his earliest formulation, in Galatians 2:20, is faith in Christ *who loved him*

and gave himself for him. The cross is foremost in Paul's believing view. In the gospel, faith means believing a creed about Jesus, such as that he is the Christ, the Son of God. To produce such a faith in readers is, at the close of the gospel, represented as the very purpose for which it has been written (20:31). The nature of faith as thus viewed is theological rather than religious, and its function is external rather than vital. It defines the sphere within which the eternal life is enjoyed, Christendom, the part of mankind which confesses Christ, rather than points out the essential condition of enjoyment. He that believeth in the Son as a matter of fact hath life and he alone, but why he? Where does the virtue lie? One can see how faith in Him who loved us and gave himself for us should have power at once to comfort and to sanctify. But it is not so apparent how believing that Jesus is the Christ the Son of God should make all the difference between night and day, death and life. Why then is Christendom, the sphere of those who confess the Christ, the one illuminated and living spot in an otherwise dark, dead world? John's answer is: "There is the region of the new birth" (3:3). Another alternative answer is: "There is the knowledge of the one true God and the Christ whom he hath sent" (17:3). But this is a secondary answer, for the knowledge referred to is not theoretical but that which comes through fellowship of life. Life is first there and knowledge follows as a result; so that the ultimate fact is the true eternal life sovereignly communicated to certain souls by God, whence it comes that they believe in Jesus, see in him the light of life, and become filled with the grace and truth that are in him. The categories of the Eternal and the Absolute dominate here also. God has eternally given to the Son those to whom the Son in time gives eternal life, and the gift is absolute, unconditional, final. The sheep of the Good Shepherd are all good sheep, hear his voice, follow him and shall never perish (10:28). And none but such belong to the fold.

A noble and sublime conception of the Christian faith and life this of the fourth gospel. Yet I am thankful that it does

not stand alone in the New Testament. This divine way of thinking is too Alpine in its elevation to live in constantly. The white light of the absolute is too dazzling for our weak eyes. We crave the colored light of the limited and the relative. From the first three gospels I come to the fourth to learn some advanced lessons they teach dimly if at all. But from the last of the four I go often back to the three to listen to the words of one who is so perfectly human, kindly, and brotherly ; in all respects such as I myself am, sin only excepted.

AN ELEGY OF A BROKEN HEART

Arranged by PROFESSOR R. G. MOULTON,
The University of Chicago.

I

Let the day perish wherein I was born ;
And the night which said, There is a man child conceived !

Let that day be darkness ;
Let not God regard it from above,
Neither let the light shine upon it !
Let darkness and the shadow of death claim it for their own ;
Let a cloud dwell upon it ;
Let all that maketh black the day terrify it !

As for that night, let thick darkness seize upon it ;
Let it not rejoice among the days of the year ;
Let it not come into the number of months !
Lo, let that night be barren ;
Let no joyful voice come therein !
Let them curse it that curse the day,
Who are ready to rouse up leviathan !
Let the stars of the twilight thereof be dark !
Let it look for light, but have none ;
Neither let it behold the eyelids of the morning :

Because it shut not up the doors of my mother's womb,
Nor hid trouble from mine eyes !

2

Why died I not from the womb ?
Why did I not give up the ghost when I came out of the belly ?
Why did the knees receive me ?
Or why the breasts, that I should suck ?

* The special 'Elegiac Metre' does not as a fact appear in the majority of
Biblical Elegies.

3

For now should I have lien down and been quiet ;
I should have slept ; then had I been at rest,
 With kings and counsellors of the earth,
 Which built solitary piles for themselves ;
 Or with princes that had gold,
 Who filled their houses with silver ;
Or as an hidden and untimely birth I had not been ;
As infants which never saw light.
 There the wicked cease from troubling ;
 And there the weary be at rest.
 There the prisoners are at ease together ;
 They hear not the voice of the taskmaster.
 The small and great are there ;
 And the servant is free from his master.

Wherefore is light given to him that is in misery,
And life unto the bitter in soul ?

 Which long for death, but it cometh not ;
 And dig for it more than for hid treasures :
 Which rejoice exceedingly,
 And are glad when they can find the grave.

Why is light given to a man whose way is hid,
And whom God hath hedged in ?

 For my sighing cometh before I eat,
 And my roarings are poured out like water.
 For the thing which I fear cometh upon me,
 And that which I am afraid of cometh unto me.
 I am not at ease, neither am I quiet,
 Neither have I rest ; but trouble cometh !

—*Job 3:3-26.*

EVANGELICAL BUDDHISM.

By MERWIN-MARIE SNELL,
Chicago.

Primitive Buddhism atheistic — Its relation to Hindu philosophies — Modification of reincarnation doctrine — Nirvâna — Means of attaining it — Theory exclusively ethical. — Council of Vai'sali — Gradual re-introduction of metaphysical speculation — Return of Mahâyâna to Hindu theory. — Worship of future Saviour in Hinayâna — This phase still atheistic. — First Japanese sects ethical; following ones contemplative; modern sects "evangelical" — Japanese classification of Buddhist sects — True wisdom class — Pure Land class. — Jodo Shu and Shin Shu "evangelical" — Derived from Aî'svârîka school of Nepal — Âdi-Buddha — Quintuple Logos — Celestial incarnations of the Logoi — Emanation of Gautama. — Amitâbha sutras — Jodo sect A.D. 641; Shin sect A.D. 1224 — Theism of Jodo and Shin — The Buddhas — Descent of Amitâbha — the Atonement — Salvation by faith — Alternative — Jodo doctrine of works. — Shin Shu doctrines: — Present salvation — Acknowledgment of sin and helplessness required — 'Sâkyamuni — Trust — Free grace — Repetition of Amitâbha's name — Beautiful similes — Joy and peace — Fruits of conversion — Final perseverance — The Western Paradise — Prohibition of magic — Prayer — The wonder of salvation. — Cui bono? — Significance of these facts.

THERE is no doubt that the primitive form of Buddhism was practically atheistic. It did not trouble itself to deny the ordinary assumptions of Hindu thought, such as reincarnation, the universality of law, and gods and mythical beings of various kinds, but it did explicitly deny both the utility and legitimacy of inquiries regarding the existence and nature of Deity and of soul. With the Vai'seshika philosophy it recognizes the supremacy of Act-force (Karma = Adrishta) — which, however, it tended less to personify — and in the spirit of the Sâṅkhya and even of the Vedânta, aimed primarily at extinction of desire and the consequent liberation from earthly sorrows which constitutes Nirvâna and is attainable in this life. More and more explicitly refusing to recognize the existence of the soul as an entity distinct from the body, it gave to the doctrine of reincarnation an entirely new form, considering it merely as the production of one life by the past deeds of another entirely separate one, analogous to the

building up of vegetable or animal organism out of the scattered remnants of preceding ones. Nirvâna soon came to be looked upon as a final destruction of conscious existence in a chain of beings instead of a speedily attainable state of the individual mind. The means to the attainment of either the terrestrial or cosmic Nirvâna being the abolition of the ignorance which is the root of desire or attachment, the primitive Buddhism might be enrolled as a form of the jñâna-mârga, or "way of salvation by knowledge. And yet as it means by "the destruction of ignorance" nothing more than the recognition of the importance of a certain course of action, and refuses to concede the possibility or advantage of any knowledge of higher powers or universal essences, it must be assigned to the karma-mârga, "the way of salvation by works," not in the sense of the ceremonial exactitudes of the Brâhmanas and Sûtras, which it entirely discards, but in that of an aim and method exclusively ethical. But the speculations of which Gautama so disapproved soon found an entrance. Especially after the Council of Vai'sâli and the Mahâsaṅghika schism (cir. 342, B.C.) the Buddhist Church—it would be more exact to say Order—was rent with controversies on all sorts of metaphysical as well as practical questions, and the intellectual interest soon obtained a very general predominance over the moral. The idealism of the Dharmagupta (a branch of the Sarvâsti-vâda) and Bahu-'srutika (a branch of the Mahâsaṅghika) schools prepared the way for the Mādhyamika, Yogâ'câra and Ai'svârîka schools of the Mahâyâna, which seem to have returned in greater or less degrees to the general positions of the Vedânta and Yoga philosophies and the traditional jñânamârga.

Even the Hinayâna seemed to be threatened with a profound metamorphosis, through the worship of the Maitreya Bodhisattva, the Saviour (Buddha) yet to come. This cultus was widely prevalent in certain sects, and had as its immediate aim attainment to residence in the Tushita heaven, where Maitreya is supposed to reign in glory while awaiting the appointed time of his final advent upon earth. But this phase of Buddhism never ceased to be atheistic in theory, and always kept in view in its official doctrine the goal of ultimate extinction.]] It can hardly be doubted,

however, that it prepared the way for the theistic developments of which we are about to speak, whether or not any direct connection shall ever be shown to exist between these two phases of Buddhistic thought.

In Japan, where the sects which are to be the subject of the present article are chiefly found, several of the earliest schools were offshoots of Hinayâna sects and were chiefly ethical. But most of the ancient sects and both the mediæval ones (Tendai and Shingon) are contemplative in their character, and place the chief emphasis on knowledge, while two out of the four great modern ones (founded or introduced into Japan since the eleventh century A.D.) make trust in Buddha their cornerstone. The Japanese Buddhists divide all the schools of both Hinayâna and Mahâyâna into two groups. The Shodo-mon, or True Wisdom division, includes all the sects and schools which aim at the attainment of salvation (*moksha*) or liberation through individual exertions, or "self-power," and the Jodo-mon, or Pure Land division, comprises those which seek the same end through trust in the Saviour, or "other-power." All the Hinayâna sects—with the possible exception of one or two retaining the Maitreya cultus—and all those of the Mahâyâna which follow the way of works or the way of knowledge, belong to the True Wisdom class, and the Pure Land class is represented chiefly by the Jodo Shu and the Jodo Shin Shu or Shin Shu, which I have designated as the evangelical sects of Buddhism.

These seem to have been derived from one of the Ai'svârîka or theistic schools of northern India, now found only in Nepal and Tibet. The latter believed in an infinite self-existent Supreme Being, whom they called Âdi-Buddha. From him emanate five Dhyâni-Buddhas, or "Buddhas of contemplation," exalted formless Æons (collectively a sort of quintuple Logos), representing different aspects or elements of the divine nature, each of whom had a son or manifestation, called a Dhyâni-Bodhsattva, in a corresponding "heaven of form,"—in contradistinction from the "formless heavens" in which the Dhyâni-Buddhas themselves resided—who was represented on earth by a Buddha of flesh and blood. To the earthly Buddha Gautama correspond

the Dhyâni-Bodhisattva Avalokite'svara and the Dhyâni-Buddha Amitâbha. Several works recounting the praises of Amitâbha and the glories of Sukhavatî, the heaven in which he eternally reigns, were written in India about the beginning of the Christian era, and were translated into Chinese by various scholars between the years 150 and 500 A.D. The followers of the doctrines contained in these works were gathered together by Zen Do, in A.D. 641, and by him formed into a distinct sect. This Jodo Shu (Pure Land Religion) was introduced into Japan in 1175. In 1224 Shin-ran gave a new interpretation of the Amitâbha sutras and thereupon founded the Jodo Shin Shu, or True Jodo religion, usually called True Sect (Shin Shu), which rapidly diffused itself until it has now become by far the most important and popular form of the Buddhist religion throughout the Japanese empire.

The Jodo and Shin sects consider Amitâbha (Boundless Light), also called Amitâyus (Infinite Life), as identical with the Supreme Being. He has always existed, and all other Buddhas have attained to perfect knowledge only by worshiping him, and indeed they are only his manifestations and prophets. But Amitâbha himself descended to earth immeasurable ages ago, and after sharing the sufferings of mankind for billions of years and performing countless virtuous actions, "as the scapegoat of all living beings" he returned to glory again ten kalpas (4,320,000,000 years) ago. "He became a mendicant for us, because he knew that we should be absolutely incapable of doing it ourselves" (Shin Shu Catechism, QQ. 11, 19). Amitâbha has made forty-eight great vows concerning the salvation of all those who trust in him. These vows and the glories of Amitâbha and his heaven are recorded in the greater and lesser Sukhâtivyûha or Amitâyus Sutra and the Amitâbha Dhyâni Sutra, which are the three sacred books of both the sects.

It is by faith in the words of 'Sâkyamuni recorded in those books, or rather in the promises and personality of Amitâbha revealed in them, that salvation is to be obtained.

The Holy Path is hard to travel and its outcome uncertain; but entrance to the Pure Land is sure if one will but put his whole trust in Amitâbha.

According to the Old Jodo sect those who are reborn in heaven (Sukhavati) must practice good works there for a long time before attaining to Buddhahood and Nirvâna, though that result is sure to come in the end. They simply walk the holy path there where it is easy and its result secure, instead of here where it is beset with difficulties.

The Shin Shu conforms more closely to the Christian "evangelical" model. According to it, heaven is not merely an entrance way to Nirvâna; they who trust in Amitâbha have already attained Buddhahood, and their Nirvâna is the Pure Land, where they enjoy an eternity of bliss.

To bring out more clearly the "evangelical" character of the sect let us give further examination to its doctrine of salvation by faith alone, as set forth in its official publications.

Those who aspire to salvation through the grace of Amitâbha must be fully convinced of their own sinfulness, which condemns them to the sufferings of endless rebirth; and of their own helplessness to escape from these through their own power, or any other save that of Amitâbha himself.

'Sâkyamuni is a great teacher who directs us to Amitâbha, upon whom alone our salvation depends. "He [Amitâbha] does not command us to follow out any practice, or to accumulate the merit of repeating his name for our salvation, but he only says, 'Come on straight here with your whole heart and right thought.' Then, why shall we try to do what he does not command? Therefore, when his call has reached our heart enough all our ideas of self-power will be thrown off at once." (Shin Shu Catechism, Q. 54.)

The Jodo sect believes that the Pure Land may be attained by the merits attached to the repetition of the name of Amitâbha in the spirit of faith; but the Shin Shu says that "even the repetition of Buddha's name is wrong, if it is desired to be born in Paradise by the merit of doing that." (Q. 53.)

Many beautiful similes, some of them quite familiar to Christian ears, are used to illustrate the relation of the believer to his Saviour. He "goes on the ship of Buddha's vow, which is able to bear him in the stormy ocean of birth and death without any

danger." "Our faith in Buddha is one with his command: Rely upon me, and I will save you.' When the moon is shining and the water is calm and without waves, there are two moons, one being in the sky above and one in the water beneath. Now Buddha's command is the moon in the sky, and our faith is that in the water. But if there is no moon in the sky, nothing can be seen in the water; so our faith is only the reflection of Buddha's vow." (Q. 39.)

The soul that has trusted in Buddha, at once enters the state of salvation, and his mind becomes bright and joyful and he feels that he has been saved from the evil path and is sure of attaining Buddhahood. The joy and peace of mind which faith brings with it naturally finds expression in the loving repetition of Amitâbha's name by those who possess it, and the reproduction of his holiness in their own lives. But whatever improvement in conduct results from entering the state of salvation is to be attributed, not to the believer's merits, but solely to the grace of Amitâbha.

The Shin Shu agrees with Presbyterianism in holding the doctrine of final perseverance. As soon as we have obtained true faith the operation of our salvation is finished already. The fact of losing faith after having professed conversion is positive evidence that the faith was never genuine.

Heaven, or Sukhavatî,—literally, "The Place of Happiness,"—is often spoken of as the "Western Paradise," and it is said in the North Buddhist traditions to be "over a hundred thousand kotis of Buddha-countries" distant towards the west; but the Shin theologians explain that this is not to be literally understood. It is said to be so distant [every world is a Buddha-country, so a hundred thousand kotis of Buddha-countries means ten millions of worlds] in order to intimate its vastness and supreme splendor; and it is said to be in the west, because it is desirable for purposes of meditation and devotion to be able to think of it as in some particular direction, and the direction in which the glories of the setting sun appear is the most natural and appropriate.

Many of the Buddhist sects, even some of those not pro-

fessedly affiliated to the Tāntrika or Kāla 'Cakra school (which is the special home of occultism), are addicted to magic and sorcery, or at least the use of charms and spells. The Shin Shu, however, forbids all such practices, and does not even permit of supplications to any Buddha or god for the averting of temporal misfortunes or the gaining of temporal blessings. An incident related of the Shin Shu bishop Ren-nio aptly illustrates the constant spirit of the sect. One day a disciple told him that a piece of paper with the invocation *Namo Amida Butsu* (Adoration to Amitābha Buddha) written upon it had fallen into the fire, and seemed to turn into six statues of Buddha. "What a wonderful thing it was!" he exclaimed. "That is not a wonderful thing," replied the bishop; "It is not strange that Buddha should become Buddha. The only wonderful thing is that those who are so sinful can become Buddha by a single thought of of reliance upon Amitābha."

Other Buddhist sects, ancient and modern, have shown a tendency to approximate to the type of evangelical Protestant Christianity, though probably none of them in such a marked degree.

The examples given may suffice us. The question may arise in the minds of some Christian readers, "But of what use is it to know the various aberrations of Pagan sects? What is an evangelicism with the Gospel left out—one which substitutes another name for that of Christ! Is not a Paganism that imitates the true religion so closely, and transfers all the prerogatives of Jesus Christ to a creature of the imagination, even worse and more dangerous than the undisguised idolatry which makes no pretense of competing with Christianity on its own ground?"

I answer that it is all-important for the Christian missionary to make use of these facts, which at least attest the cravings of the human soul for an endless immortality, a living Saviour, and a finished redemption; and no evangelical believer can fail to rejoice, upon second thought, that God has thus raised up independent witnesses to what he believes to be the revealed plan of salvation, in such remote and unexpected quarters.

A REMINISCENCE OF NAZARETH.

By THE REVEREND A. K. PARKER, D.D.,
Chicago.

It has never been disputed that the little town of En Nasîra in Syria occupies the site of ancient Nazareth. Here one may assure himself that one is looking upon scenes familiar to the boy Jesus. Here he dwelt in glad subjection to his parents. Here he passed through childhood into manhood, increasing in wisdom and in stature and in favor with God and man. To visit this secluded valley of hallowed memories without deep emotion is impossible; and it is not unreasonable to expect that the gospel narratives will gain something in vividness and reality when read in the light of such a visit.

We saw Nazareth first as we rode down the slope of the opposite hill in the late afternoon of an April day. We had eaten luncheon at noon in the lonely Latin convent upon the summit of Mount Tabor; and a hot, dry wind blowing persistently in our faces had made the ride from the foot of the mountain with which the day's journey closed one of unusual fatigue. Very pleasant therefore to the eyes of the jaded horsemen was the soft and smiling scenery in the midst of which, just outside the town, the white tents of the camp were pitched.

Nazareth lies in a little valley shut in by a circle of gently rounding hills enclosing it, to borrow Dean Stanley's apt comparison, "like the edge of a shell, to guard it from intrusion." And yet one must not think of it as withdrawn from observation in the bottom of the valley, but rather as slipping back into the valley, from a futile effort to climb the steep hillside. These protecting hills are not high enough to be called imposing or majestic, but their broad, green rolling surfaces, bare of trees, are impressive, and very satisfying to the eye. All about the town itself and at the bases of the hills are gardens and vine-



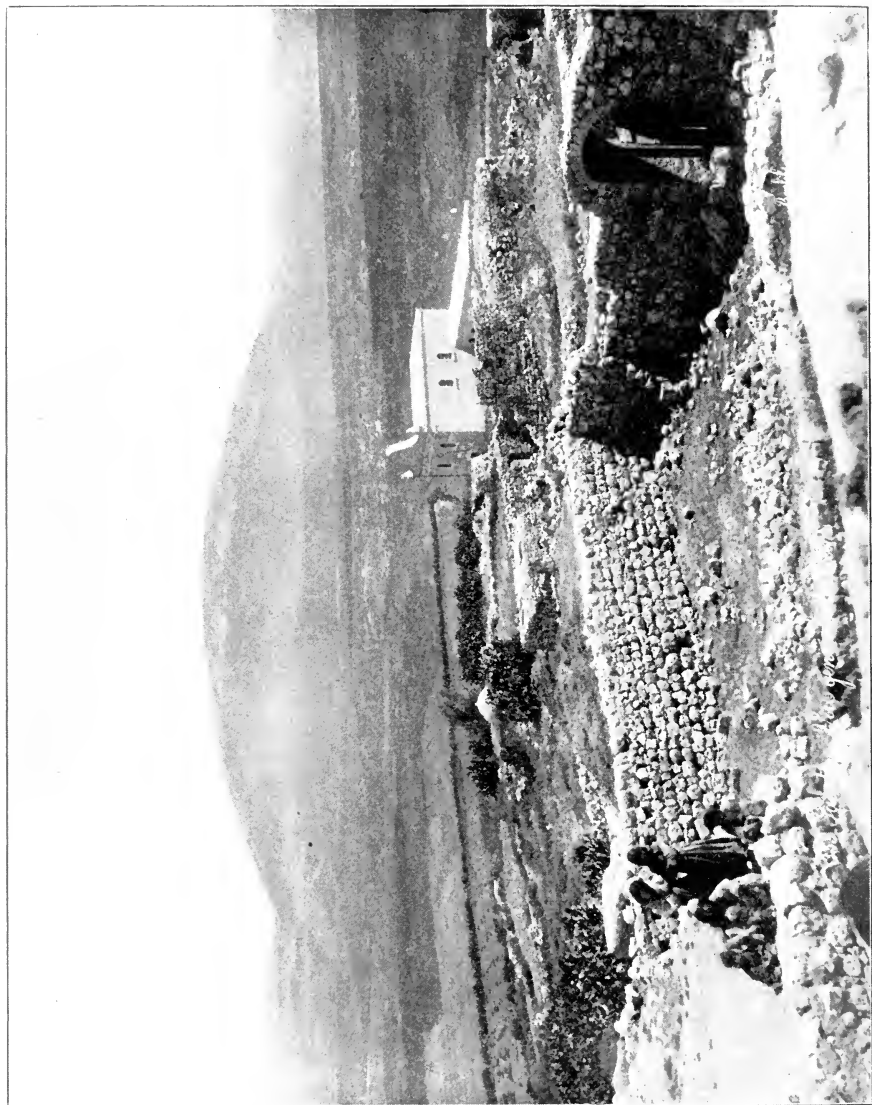
NAZARETH.

yards and silvery green olives and wide-spreading broad-leaved fig trees, and the bristling contortions of cactus hedges. Hardly another place in Palestine offers to Western eyes so habitable an aspect as this green-girt, compact town of flat-roofed white houses with the massive fort-like enclosures of convents, the minaret of a mosque and the square tower of a Protestant church rising among them.

But close inspection of an Oriental town never quite bears out the promise of a distant view. The streets of Nazareth are narrow and crooked and steep, and encumbered with heaps of unmentionable filth. Its houses are mean and squalid and too modern and commonplace in construction to offer so much as a redeeming touch of the picturesque. As we picked our way the next morning, under drizzling skies, through puddles of loathly mud and over piles of offal, the gutter in the middle of the crowded street was running red with blood, a sight explained when a little higher up we found that a sheep was being slaughtered at the convenience of the butcher in the narrow highway in front of his stall.

All this one must encounter in Nazareth if he would see the "holy places" which the conscientious traveler, however skeptical as to their claims he may be, will not decline to visit. But the assurance that he is doing his duty hardly cheers him, and he listens with a dull heart to the gabble of his guide, telling him that just here in the Chapel of the Annunciation Gabriel stood, and here Mary; that this old cistern is the kitchen of the Virgin, that this enclosed court is the workshop of Joseph, and this great stone slab the table from which our Lord and his disciples once dined. It is hardly surprising to learn, further, when these wonders have been pointed out, that there is another Church of the Annunciation even more authentic and holy, if the Greek Christians are to be believed, than that of which the Latins make their boast.

The true holy place of Nazareth, however, is the summit of the hill upon whose slope the town is built. Twenty minutes, or thereabouts, of easy climbing by flowery paths, and one stands upon the broad top of *Jebel es-Sikh*, 1788 feet above the sea, com-



MOUNT TABOR.

manding one of the most famous views of Palestine. That band of dark blue rising against the western sky line is the Mediterranean Sea; and that long, bold promontory shelving down upon the water and running far back inland is Mount Carmel. That cluster of white dwellings at the foot of the Carmel is the seaport of Haifa, and that wavering, white line yonder marks the beating of the foam-crested waves upon the shore of the Bay of Acre. To the north, turbulent ranges of hills roll confusedly one against another, and snowy Hermon towers above them all. Looking to the northeast, clear blue masses, blending with the sky, mark the hiding place of the Galilean Lake. Eastward is the rounded dome of Tabor; just below in the hollow, Nazareth; to the south the billowing green cornfields of the plain of Esdraelon. Far away to the east the mysterious barrier of the mountains of Moab melts against the horizon. Beyond those blue ramparts to the south Jerusalem is hidden; and one even fancies that one can trace the course of the deep depression through which the Jordan hurries down to its silent grave in the Dead Sea.

It is impossible to doubt, as the eye sweeps this lovely prospect, that the boy Jesus must often have climbed this hill. Here, if anywhere in Palestine, we are in the very footsteps of our Lord. These encompassing mountain ranges he must have known by heart. Standing here he looked with throbbing expectation towards the southern hills which hide Jerusalem, anticipating the day when his glad feet should ascend its holy courts. Standing here his thoughts ran out across that blue sea to the west, "seeking the isles of the Gentiles." Looking down upon fertile and sunny Esdraelon, did he recall the heroes of his country's history who had marched in battle array across it—Barak, and Gideon, and Saul? Looking over to Mt. Carmel did his thoughts kindle with memories of the dauntless prophet, standing alone for Jehovah against the ministers of Baal; and did he picture to himself Elijah running fleetly across the plain below, outstripping the chariots of Ahab from Carmel to Jezreel, while behind him the welcome storm-clouds were rolling up from an angry sea?

These are not vain imaginings. In all soberness we may say that the ardent, reflective boy must have loved this spot, and here, with this picture unrolled before him, unchanged still and unchangeable in its essential features, have pondered that significant national history whose every page spoke of himself.



THE MADONNA OF THE CHAIR.

—RAPHAEL.

A true holy place is this Nazareth hill, for it had to do with our redemption. This outlook takes its part among the many influences which wrought upon Mary's son as he grew into fitness for his awful task. In the stress of the conflicts of his public ministry he was accustomed to go apart into deserts and mountain places to pray. It is easy to believe that this habit was formed while Nazareth was still his home. The young carpenter would often leave the narrow, noisy streets of the town behind him and seek the hilltop, crushing

beneath his feet the flowers of the field as he came up to its wide seclusion, that he might be alone with the Heavenly Father and make inquiry again in prayer concerning the Father's will, upon the perfect doing of which his holy soul was bent.

It is very quiet here on this Sunday afternoon, and we are loath to leave this mount of vision. Fortunately the hilltop has not yet been claimed by either the Latin or the Greek church as the site of some legendary miracle, and vulgarized by the erection of a tawdry shrine. The only building upon it, a tiny "wely," roughly built of stone and mortar, the tomb of some forgotten

Mohammedan saint, is now neglected and crumbling, and one may climb upon its roof, without offense, to gain a still wider view. Lingering there for a farewell look, although the impatient dragoman warns us that our allotted time is long past, one of the party speaks the thought of all: "How small the country is!" We might have learned that from the maps. But the maps do not teach it. One must go himself to Palestine to find it out. It is a case where only seeing is believing. How small the country is! This single view embraces or suggests it all. From the Mediterranean to the mountains of Moab the eye travels, from the hills which surround the Sea of Galilee to the shadowy line upon the southern horizon which, being interpreted, is the range of the hills of Judea. It could not have taken long for the fame of the Teacher and the Healer who had come out of Nazareth to fill all this little land.

It is a change indeed from the solitude of *Jebel es-Sikh* to the bustling precinct of the Fountain of the Virgin. The long-famed spring itself lies near the Greek church of the Annunciation (and the water is led thence by a conduit through the church) flowing near the altar, where we look down into it as into a well, and pours in abundant streams through two stone spouts projecting from a wall and protected by a stone arch, into a great marble basin without. From this basin it overflows again into a lower and larger pool. To this Fountain of the Virgin literally all Nazareth resorts. There is no option; for apart from a few cisterns this is the sole water supply of the town. About the larger pool groups of washerwomen with heaped-up laundry baskets are gathered; and other women are cleaning wool by beating it with heavy clubs. This occupation looks like hard work, but it is not so engrossing after all but that there is opportunity for gossip, and above the unintermitting splash of the water sounds their shrill talk. A more attractive group is the company of girls whose livelihood it is to supply the households of Nazareth with water and who come and go all day long with tall heavy water jars skilfully balanced upon their heads. At sunset the throng increases and a din of high pitched screaming voices fills the air. The water carriers are hurrying to

and fro to meet the urgent demands of the closing hour of the day, or scolding and squabbling volubly over questions of precedence at the spouts. Here is a mother, one arm sustaining a jar upon her head, the other supporting a babe, while two or three children cling shyly to her garments. The washerwomen have been driven now from the larger pools, and horses, donkeys



FOUNTAIN OF THE VIRGIN.

and camels are waiting their turn to drink. For how many hundreds of years the talk of Nazareth has babbled here, in a stream as unfailing as that of the fountain itself; and here have just such water jars been filled, by just such dark-eyed women with little children trooping at their heels. To this spot the child Jesus must often have come, holding by Mary's skirt, and here with his brothers, a company of children sitting in the market place, he played. So much of the unwritten "Gospel of the Infancy" we permit ourselves to reconstruct, loitering spectators at sunset at the Fountain of the Virgin.

The hill, across whose face the zig-zag streets of Nazareth run, is so steep that frequently there is room for houses upon one side of the street only. Coming upon one of these exposed declivities the question arises, "Was this perhaps the very brow of the hill to which the townsmen of Jesus once hurried him that they might cast him down headlong?" "It might have been here," we say; and going a few yards further on we repeat, "It might have been here." But if you will listen to the voice of that infallible church whose high function it is to feed the human mind with certainties, you need not remain in doubt. Accept her guidance, and you will be led out of the town across the valley and up the opposite declivity to a point where the hill falls abruptly to the plain of Esdraelon. "Precisely to this spot," the church will tell you, "the angry mob led Jesus." It is not impossible indeed that this is in fact, "the mount of precipitation;" though it would be easier to accept the location if it were somewhat nearer to Nazareth.

It is a far cry from the snow-bound plains of Russia to the flower-strewn fields of Nazareth; but when we sauntered into the streets again before the call to dinner should sound, the formal duties of sight-seeing all discharged, we found them overflowing with Russian pilgrims. They had seen Bethlehem and Jerusalem and had bathed in the Jordan (though one would hardly suspect it from their appearance), and they have come now to Nazareth to complete their pilgrimage by saying their prayers and paying their vows at the altar of the Greek church of the Angel Gabriel. The Greek convent had opened its doors to these orthodox believers, as in duty bound, and hospitably suffered them to spread their blankets upon the stone pavement of its spacious and empty courtyard. In the street without the thrifty people of Nazareth had extemporized a market, and were driving a brisk trade with their guests in bowls of steaming soup and blocks of coarse, dark bread. How dirty these pilgrims were, how ragged, how weary! But how cheerful they were, and how noisy, as they drank their tea, and cobbled their shoes and patched their garments!

We greeted them as brethren in pilgrimage though they

could not understand our speech; for we and they alike had come to far Nazareth to ask what it had to tell us of its whilom townsman, the Son of Man. It did not seem too much to hope that the dullest and most superstitious of them all would carry home some clearer understanding of the earthly life of his Lord. Jesus cannot be to them hereafter only a painted picture dimly discerned through incense smoke and by the light of flaming candles, since they have seen the very fields in which his feet were set when he walked, a man among men. To us whose privilege it had been to enter upon our pilgrimage with some not altogether indefinite and misleading conceptions of the Nazarene already formed in our minds, "his own city" had also a new truth to impart, new, although it was old and the trite theme of much moralizing. For he who has climbed the hill of Nazareth in the footsteps of Jesus, and drank of the fountain of Nazareth which in the centuries since Jesus drank of it "has not wearied in well doing" must have gained thereby a more vivid understanding of the value of the ministry of the thirty unrecorded years; and his own life, whatever be its sphere, has widened immeasurably before him, as he learns that even in so narrow a round as the workshop, the synagogue and the home, there is ample space and opportunity to be daily increasing in wisdom and in favor with God and man.

OUTLINE TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

III.

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THE CLASSIFICATION OF PROPHETICAL MATERIAL.

I. CLASSIFICATION OF PROPHETICAL SCHOOLS OF INTERPRETATION.¹

- 1) The rationalistic school.
- 2) The predictive school.
 - a) The literalistic interpretation.
 - b) The spiritualistic interpretation.
- 3) The historical school.
 - a) The conditional interpretation.
 - b) The ideal interpretation.

2. CLASSIFICATION OF PROPHETICAL MATERIAL ACCORDING TO ITS CHARACTER.²

- 1) *Living prophecy*, that is, lives and events as such, without reference to the record of them.
- 2) *Experience prophecy*, that is, stories of the past concerning great lives and significant events.
- 3) *Descriptive prophecy*, that is, descriptions of the present, its wickedness, its obligations, etc.
- 4) *Predictive prophecy*, that is, predictions of the future, whether of calamity or of glory.

¹ Immer, *Hermeneutics of the N. T.* (transl. by Newman), 5-103; Leathes, *O. T. Prophecy*, 3-16, 235-56; Elliott and Harsha, *Bib. Hermeneutics*, 8-50; Oehler, *O. T. Theology*, 484-94; Briggs, *Mess. Proph.*, 1-66; Farrar, *Hist. of Interpretation*; Terry, *Biblical Hermeneutics*,² 31-70, 313-26; Davidson, *The False Prophets, Exp.*, July 1895, 1-17; Burnham, *Manual of O. T. Interpretation*, 100-7, 124-41, 177-206.

² See *Biblical World*, Jan. 1896, p. 44.

3. CLASSIFICATION OF PROPHETICAL MATERIAL ACCORDING TO ITS CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER.¹

- 1) *Preliminary inquiry* as to date, authorship, circumstances of origin, occasion and purpose.
- 2) *Materials for this inquiry.*
 - a) The book or writing itself.
 - (1) The diction and style.
 - (2) Historical allusions.
 - (3) Religious ideas.
 - b) Outside sources.
- 3) *Principles in accordance with which this inquiry is made.*
 - a) Evidence may be gained from a study of language, style, etc.
 - b) The method of history-writing employed, viz., compilation.
 - c) Each writer spoke primarily for his own times.
 - d) The sacred narratives, neither science, history, nor poetry as such.
 - e) Distinction to be made between an event, and the record of the event.
 - f) Distinction to be made between an original utterance and the later literary form of the utterance.
 - g) The writer influenced in his selection of material, and in his form of presentation, by the purpose which he has in mind.
- 4) *The most important problems.*
 - a) The work of Moses.²

¹ W. R. Smith, *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*; Bartlett, *Sources of History in the Pentateuch*; Briggs, *Biblical Study*, 75-104; Bissell, *The Pentateuch*; Driver, *Introduction*²; Sayce, *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, 1-60; Sanday, *Inspiration*,³ 124-67; Harper and Green, *The Pentateuchal Question, Hebraica*, Oct. 1888-July 1892; Cheyne, in W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*², VII.-XLVIII.

² Kalisch, *A Hist. and Crit. Comm. on the O. T., Gen., Exodus, and Lev., I. and II.*; Stanley, *Lectures on the Hist. of the Jewish Church*, I; Curtiss, *The Levitical Priests*; Delitzsch, *Pentateuch-kritische Studien*, i-xii, ZKWL, 1880; Reuss, *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften*, 1-95; König, *Der Offenbarungs begriff des A. T.*, 2 vols.; Green, *Moses and the Prophets*; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten, II., Prolegomena*, Art. *Moses* in *Ency. Brit.*; Bissell, *The Pentateuch*; Green, *The Hebrew Feasts*; Graf, *Der heutige Stand der altestamentlichen Wissenschaft*; Dillmann, *Die Genesis*,⁶

- b) The psalms to be assigned to David.¹
- c) The relative position of J and E.²
- d) The date of Joel.³
- e) The correct interpretation of Hosea 1-3.⁴

Die Bücher Exodus und Leviticus,² *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*²; Kuenen, *The Hexateuch*; Vos, *The Mosaic Origin of the Pentateuchal Codes*; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 1-180; *Moses and His Recent Critics*, edited by Chambers; Briggs, *The Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*; Addis, *The Documents of the Hexateuch*; Klostermann, *Der Pentateuch*; Holzinger, *Einleitung in den Hexateuch*; Driver, *Introduction*², 1-150; König, *Einleitung*, 134-245; Green, *The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch*; Green, *The Unity of the Book of Genesis*; Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, I., 131-78; Kittel, *A History of the Hebrews*, I.; Rawlinson, *Moses, His Life and Times*, Taylor, *Moses the Lawgiver*; Art. in *Smith's Bib. Dict.*

¹ Hitzig, *Psalms*; Olshausen, *Die Psalmen*; Tholuck, *Book of Psalms*; Hupfeld, *Psalms*; Binnie, *The Psalms*; Alexander, *The Psalms*,⁶ 2 vols.; Cook, Johnson and Elliott, *Psalms (The Bible Comm.)*; MacLaren, *The Life of David as reflected in the Psalms*; Ewald, *Commentary on the Psalms*, 2 vols.; Murray, *Lectures on the Origin and Growth of the Psalms*; W. R. Smith, *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, 176-207; Graetz, *Kritischer Kommentar zu den Psalmen*; Bickell, *Carmina Veteris Testamenti metricae*; Vincent, *Gates into the Psalm-Country*; Perowne, *The Book of Psalms*⁶; Delitzsch, *A Commentary on the Book of Psalms*, 3 vols.; Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms, The Origin and Religious Contents of the Psalter*; Baethgen, *Die Psalmen*; Reuss, *Die hebräische Poesie*, 1-292; Sharpe, *The Student's Handbook to the Psalms*; Driver *Introduction*,² 337-67.

² See references under n. 2, p. 200.

³ Justi, *Joel*; Credner, *Der Prophet Joel*; Graetz, *Der einheitliche Charakter der Prophetie Joels*; Ewald, *Prophets of the O. T.*, I., 107-14; Merx, *Die Prophetie des Joel*, Montet, *De recentissimis disputationibus de Joelis aetate*; Matheson, *Joel, Exp.*, III., 1882, 191-203; Pearson, *The Prophecy of Joel*; Matthes, *Joel, Theol. Tijds.*, 1885, 34-66, 129-60, 1887, 357-81; Beecher, *JSBLE*, June-December, 1888, 14-40; Davidson, *Joel, Exp.*, VII., 1888, 198-211; Kessner, *Das Zeitalter des Propheten Joel*; Holzinger, *Joel, ZAW*, IX., 89-131; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,² II., 338-55; Preuss, *Die Profetie Joels*; Gerber, *Das Zeitalter des Propheten Joel, Theol. Quartal.*, 1889, 3, 355-86; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*, 46-78; Driver, *Introduction*,² 287-93; Gray, *Exp.*, VIII., 1893, 208-25.

⁴ Wünsche, *Der Prophet Hosea*; Davidson, *Exp.*, X., 1879, 241-64; Cox, *Exp.*, X., 1879, 422-32; Hitzig, *Die zwölf kleinen Propheten*,⁴ 6-19; Matheson, *Hosea, Exp.*, IV., 1882, 132-45; Sharpe, *Notes and Dissertations upon the Prophecy of Hosea*; Pusey, *The Minor Prophets*, I., 9-45; Denio, *Hosea*, 1, 2, *O. T. Stud.*, April 1888, 249-53; Murphy, *Hosea*, 1, 2, *O. T. Stud.*, June 1888, 319-20; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,² II., 323-38; Cheyne, *Hosea*; Oort, *Hosea, Theol. Tijds.*, 1890, 345-64, 480-505; Elmslie, *Hosea, Exp.*, III., 1891, 63-80; Reuss, *Die Propheten*, 85-92; Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten*, V., 95-105; Driver, *Introduction*,² 280-7; Schmoller, *Hosea (Lange, Minor Prophets)*, 1-48.

- f) The date of publication of Deuteronomy.¹
- g) The authorship of Isaiah 40–66.²
- h) The relation of Ezekiel 40–48 to P or the Levitical code.³
- i) The relation of P to J, E, and D.⁴
- j) The date and place of Zechariah 9–11 and 12–14.⁵
- k) The date of the origin and the character of Daniel, in its present literary form.⁶
- l) The assignment of the various psalms.⁷

¹ Schultz, *Das Deuteronomium*; Kleinert, *Das Deuteronomium und der Deuteronomiker*; *Deuteronomy the people's book*; Driver, *Deuteronomy*; Cheyne, *Jeremiah*, 48–86; Carpenter, *The book of Deuteronomy*, *The Mod. Rev.* 1883, 252–81; Kuenen, *The Hexateuch* 124–26; Driver, *Introduction*,² 65–96; Art. *Pentateuch* in *Ency. Brit.*, and Smith, *Bib. Dict.* See also refs. under n. 2, p. 200.

² Drechsler, *Der Prophet Jesaja*, 3 vols; Stier, *Jesaja, nicht Pseudo-Jesajas*; Rutgers, *De echtheid van het tweede gedeelte van Jesaja aangetoond*; Klostermann, *ZLTh*, 1876, 1–60; Potwin, *Bib. World*, June, 1894, 435–9; Cheyne, *Isaiah, Exp.*, Feb. 1895, 81–93; see also refs. in *Bib. World*, Feb. 1896, p. 123, n.

³ Graf, *Geschichtliche Bücher*, 81–3; Bertheau, *YDTh*, 1866, 150 ff.; Klostermann, *ZLTh*, 1877, 406–45; Smend, *Der Prophet Ezechiel*, XXV.–XXVIII.; Horst, *Lev. XVII.–XXVI. und Hesekeel*; Kayser, *YPTTh*, 1881, 648–65; Mitchell, *Heb. Stud.*, Jan. and Feb. 1883, 159–60; Noldeke, *Untersuchungen zur Kritik der A. T.*, 67–71; Kuenen, *Religion of Israel*, II., 189–92; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 376–84; Dillmann, *Die Bücher Numeri, Deuteronomium und Josua*²; Kuenen, *Hexateuch*, 272–87; Driver, *Introduction*,² 43–55, 123–50; Whitelaw, *Ezekiel and the Priest's Code*, *Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, July, 1894; Stebbins, *O. T. Stud.*, Apr. 1884, 289–95.

⁴ See refs. under n. 2. p. 200.

⁵ Hitzig, *St. Kr.*, 1830, 25–45; Bleek, *Ueber das Zeitalter von Sacharja*, *Kap.* 9–14, *St. Kr.*, 1852, 247–332; Kliefoth, *Der Prophet Sacharjah*; Stade, *Deuterozacharja*, *ZAW*, I., 1–96; Lowe, *The Heb. Student's Comm. on Zech.*; Perowne, *Haggai and Zechariah*, 47–157; Cheyne, *JQR*, 1889, 76–83; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,² 408–26; Staerk, *Untersuchungen über die Komposition und Abfassungzeit von Zach. 9 bis 14*; Graetz, *The Last Chapter of Zech.*, *JQR*, Jan. 1891, 208–19; Marti, *Der Prophet Sacharja*; Rubinkam, *The Second Part of the Book of Zech.*; Driver, *Introduction*,² 322–33; Eckardt, *ZAW*, XIII., 76–109.

⁶ Lenormant, *La Divination chez les Chaldeans*, 169 ff; Meinhold, *Die Compos. des B. Daniel*; Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, 454–67; Fuller, *The Book of Daniel in the light of recent Research and Discovery*, *Exp.*, I., 1885, 217–25, 431–38; II., 437–47; Meinhold, *Beiträge zur Erkl. des B. Daniel*; König, *Einleitung*, 382–93; Bevan, *A short Comm. on the Book of Daniel*; Driver, *Introduction*,² 458–83; Lampe, *Pres. and Ref. Rev.*, July, 1895; Cornill, *Einleitung*, 254–60.

See refs. under n. 1, p. 201.

4. CLASSIFICATION OF PROPHETICAL MATERIAL ACCORDING TO HISTORICAL PERIODS.¹

1. Prophecy before Israel's Occupation of Canaan.

Until the time of Samuel, about 1100 B. C., Israel was hardly settled in Canaan; the work of Samuel in organization marks an epoch. What prophetic material was in existence *at the time of Samuel's birth*? This will include:

- 1) Israel's inheritance of ancient traditions handed down from father to son.
- 2) The institutions of Israel which were adopted in the earliest stages of development as embodying prophetic truth.
- 3) The most significant facts of history from Abraham to the birth of Samuel.
- 4) The prophetic utterances which were published during this period as coming from God.

2. Prophecy of the United Kingdom from about 1050 B. C. to 937 B. C.

Samuel's work is so closely identified with the organization of the kingdom that it may be roughly classed with that of Saul, David and Solomon, under the title of *the United Kingdom*. What prophetic material was contributed during the lives of these four men? This will include:

- 1) The lives themselves, and the important events connected with them.
- 2) The institutions which had their origin, or on which emphasis was placed, during this period, *e. g.*, the prophetic schools, the monarchy, the temple.
- 3) The utterances of the prophets of the period, including Samuel, Nathan, Gad, etc.
- 4) The prophetic psalms of the period, whether written by David or by others.
- 5) Literary fragments, found in Genesis (*e. g.*, 49:1-27), Num. (*e. g.*, ch. 23, 24), Samuel (*e. g.*, 2 Sam. 3:33, 34), Kings (*e. g.*, 1 Kings 8:12, 13).

¹ This classification is intended only as a rough outline-sketch; the details will be filled out and the bibliography given in connection with the study of each separate section.

3. Prophecy of the Northern Kingdom (937-722 B. C.).

From the disruption at the death of Solomon, suggested and carried out by the prophets, down to the fall of Samaria, prophecy flourished especially in the North. Here belong

- 1) The significant events of history.
- 2) The work of prophets who did not write, *e. g.*, Elijah, Elisha, Jonah.
- 3) The writings of such prophets as Amos and Hosea.
- 4) The stories of the past which took their present literary form during this period; with which may be taken, by way of supplement,
- 5) Southern history and literature, during this same period.

4. Prophecy of Isaiah and his Contemporaries (740-640 B. C.).

Northern Israel having come to an end, there remains only Judah. This division will include the period during which Assyria lays its hand upon the chosen people.

- 1) The historical events of the reigns of Jotham, Ahaz, Hezekiah, Manasseh and Amon.
- 2) The historical records which take literary form in these times.
- 3) The utterances of such prophets as Isaiah, Micah and Nahum.

5. Prophecy of Jeremiah and his Contemporaries (640-586 B. C.).

This is the period of the downfall of Jerusalem, and includes

- 1) The historical events from the beginning of Josiah's reign down to and including the fall of Jerusalem.
- 2) The historical records which take literary form in this period, *e. g.*, Deuteronomy, Kings.
- 3) The utterances of Zephaniah, Jeremiah, Habakkuk, and the earlier sermons of Ezekiel.

6. Prophecy of the Babylonian Captivity (586-538 B. C.).

This is a period of foreign residence, including

- 1) The facts and significance of the captivity.
- 2) The literary material which took form in Babylon, *e. g.*, Job.
- 3) The Lamentations of Jeremiah; the sermons of Ezekiel,

Obadiah; the Deutero-Isaiah; the original of Daniel, and many psalms.

7. Prophecy of the Restoration (538-459 B. C.).

When the Jews are reinstated in Jerusalem under Zerubbabel and Joshua, a new epoch begins which includes

- 1) The events connected with and following the Restoration.
- 2) The sermons of Haggai and Zechariah (1-8) and the psalms of the times.
- 3) The sermons of Malachi.

8. The Last Days of Prophecy.

An indefinite period, closing at all events with the struggle of the Maccabees, 160 B.C., within which may be classified.

- 1) The events of Jewish history after 459 B.C., under Persian, Greek, and Syrian supremacy.
- 2) The books which now take on their final form, *e. g.*, the Pentateuch, Jonah, and Daniel.
- 3) The utterances found in Joel, Zechariah 9-14; the later temple-psalms, and the psalms of the Maccabean times.

5. CLASSIFICATION WITH REFERENCE TO THE WORK OF THE PROPHET.

Questions upon external character, relating to the Prophet, rather than to Prophecy, must also be classified, in order that the contribution of each great period with respect to each question may be obtained. These are:

- 1) *The private life of the prophet*: his parentage, home, education, occupation, and social position.
- 2) *The method of divine communication* to the prophet¹: dream, vision, spiritual enlightenment, external agencies employed, lot, urim and thummim.
- 3) *The prophet's method of proclaiming the message*: oral, written; symbolic actions; literary skill, oratorical ability.
- 4) *The history-writing of the prophet*, its methods and characteristics.
- 5) *The political activity of the prophet*, its forms and principles.
- 6) *The ministerial activity of the prophet*, its forms and principles.

¹ Hoffmann, *ZAW*, III., 87-96; Oehler, *Theol. of the O. T.*, 464-84; Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, 4-25; Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, 14-31; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 5-18.

6. CLASSIFICATION ACCORDING TO THE PRINCIPAL IDEAS OF PROPHECY.¹

It is understood that during each of the periods described above contributions toward the development of Hebrew prophetic thought were made to the sum of knowledge existing in preceding periods. These contributions covered many subjects. For the sake of convenience the following general classification of ideas is given :

- 1) Righteousness and faith.
- 2) Morality and standards of morality.
- 3) Worship and forms of worship.
- 4) Covenant between God and man.
- 5) God as a person; his manifestation of himself; his names.
- 6) The being and attributes of God.
- 7) God in creation and history.
- 8) Angels, cherubim and seraphim.
- 9) The origin, nature, dignity and destiny of man.
- 10) Evil spirits.
- 11) The origin and nature of sin; guilt.
- 12) Death and the future world.
- 13) The advent of Jehovah and Jehovah's day.
- 14) The holy land and Israel's future.
- 15) The future destruction of the heathen.
- 16) The new covenant.
- 17) The royal order and the Messianic king.
- 18) The prophetic order and prophetism.
- 19) The priestly order and the priesthood.
- 20) The suffering servant.

¹ Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, 118-26, 137-41, 145-9, 168-78, 183-8, 217-28, 240-51, 256-63, 287-301, 321-4; Urwick, *The Servant of Jehovah*; Oehler, *Theology of the O. T.*, 100-15, 124-37, 158-74, 437-63, 495-536; Briggs, *Messianic Prophecy*, 476-99; Duff, *O. T. Theology*; Kirkpatrick, *The Doctrine of the Prophets*; Schultz, *O. T. Theology*, 2 vols.; Piepenbring, *Theology of the O. T.*; Kayser, *Theologie des A. T.*,² 122-53, 168-72, 173-79, 229-33, 233-60, 276-90, 295; Schlottmann, *Kompendium der Bibl. Theologie*,² 65-94; W. R. Smith, *The Prophets of Israel*²; Cornill, *The Prophets of Israel*; Dillmann, *Handbuch der Alttestamentlichen Theologie*, 474-544.

Aids to Bible Readers.

THE REVELATION OF JOHN.

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Questions of authorship and date.—Remarkable character of the book.—The interpretation prejudiced by extravagant notions of biblical prophecy.—Theme, the coming of Christ's Kingdom.—Nature of the Kingdom spiritual but revolutionary.—The Revelation a symbolical picture of the fall of Judaism and the assured triumph of Christianity in the world.—Analysis.

THE different opinions respecting the authorship of the New Testament books commonly attributed to John may be briefly stated as follows :

1. John the son of Zebedee, the disciple and apostle of Jesus, was the author of the Revelation, the fourth gospel and the three epistles.
2. John, the Apostle, was the author of the Revelation, but not of the gospel and the epistles.
3. John the Apostle was the author of the gospel and the epistles, but not of the Revelation. Those who adopt this last view attribute the Revelation either (1) to a presbyter John, mentioned in ancient writings, or (2) to John Mark, the companion of Paul and Barnabas, or (3) to some otherwise unknown John, whose only remaining monument is this book.

The external evidence is overwhelmingly in favor of the first opinion named. The objections to the apostolic authorship are based mainly on internal evidence. It is argued that the author of the Revelation does not call himself an apostle, but a servant, a brother and partaker in tribulation, which is a negative way of implying that he was not an apostle. He does not assume apostolical authority, nor the paternal relation traceable in 1 John 2:1, 5:21, 2 John 1, and 3 John 1. But the most weighty argument is derived from the language

¹ Under this head will be published from month to month articles intended to furnish help in the intelligent *reading* of the books of the Bible *as books*. They will aim to present not so much fresh results of critical investigation as well-established and generally recognized conclusions.

and style, which are acknowledged to be remarkably different from the gospel and the epistles. There are numerous Hebraisms and peculiar solecisms. The addresses to the seven churches are stern and lordly, quite unlike the manner of John's epistles. Instead of the calm and profound utterances of the other Johannine writings, we find visions, symbols, and vivid pictures of things in heaven and on earth. Instead of the spiritual worship taught in the fourth gospel, we have gorgeous ideals of cherubim, elders, angels, glorified spirits and all things in heaven and earth and under the earth and in the sea, giving glory to him who sits upon the throne. The description of the Word of God, the Antichrist, the judgment and the resurrection are in notable contrast with these doctrines as they appear in the gospel and the epistles. It may be safely said that aside from the external testimony no modern critic would suspect that the Revelation was written by the author of the other so called Johannine books.

All these arguments against the Johannine authorship of the Apocalypse are offset by other considerations which take from their apparent value. The subject-matter and scope of the Revelation account for most of the differences mentioned above. It is a book of prophecy. The addresses to the churches are not so much epistles as prophetic messages. The visions are not intended to inculcate doctrines but to disclose things which were shortly to come to pass. The difference of language may further be accounted for by supposing that the gospel and epistles were written long after the Revelation. On the whole, we see no sufficient reason for rejecting the best testimony of the early church. But the question is of no serious importance in itself, or for the interpretation of the book. God may have sent this "testimony of Jesus Christ" by some other John than the beloved disciple.

Two different opinions have long prevailed respecting the *date* of the Apocalypse. One rests mainly on the testimony of Irenaeus, who is understood to refer the composition to the latter part of the reign of Domitian (*i. e.*, about A. D. 96.) The other depends on internal evidence, which points to a time prior to the destruction of Jerusalem by the Romans, and during the reign of Nero. The trend of modern criticism is unmistakably in favor of the earlier date. The witness of the book itself is entitled to more consideration than the ambiguous statement of Irenaeus.

The Revelation is in many respects the most remarkable book of the New Testament. It is the consummation and crown of all the apocalyptic books of prophecy. The author makes a most discrimi-

nating use of figures, names and symbols, and it is worthy of note that there is hardly a vision or symbol that is not to some extent appropriated from the Old Testament. This fact, however, does not militate against the originality of the writer. "It is not every collection of straws that makes a bird's nest." It is no detriment to the value of the Lord's prayer that its several petitions had in many ways been poured out in pious supplication before the Lord himself set them in their present inimitable form.

The exposition of this book has been prejudiced in many ways. Unsound and extravagant notions of the nature of prophecy have been the principal cause of the multifarious exegesis. Many come to the study of this Apocalypse assuming in advance that one may reasonably expect to find in it detailed predictions of the politics of modern Europe, or of all the great events of human history to the end of time. In spite of the author's repeated declaration that his prophecy is of things shortly to come to pass, many an expositor has insisted that even these words must be harmonized with the idea of centuries of delay.

There is a much more simple and natural interpretation. The one great theme running through the entire book, so conspicuous that the wildest exegesis has not failed to see it, is the coming and kingdom of Christ, with special reference to the preliminary overthrow of some hostile persecuting power that stood in the way. The main question of exegesis is, What was that great city or obstacle which must needs be overthrown before the city and kingdom of God could be manifested?

In answering this question the best expositors divide in their views of the nature and time of the kingdom of Christ. There are those who teach that the kingdom of God and his Christ, as presented in the New Testament, has never been established in this world. It is an event of the future, and will be ushered in with great spectacular display in the clouds of heaven. The other view of the kingdom is that it is a spiritual dispensation, a new era of religious life and knowledge; that Christ introduced this new dispensation and secured its firm establishment through the preaching of apostles in the last days of the Jewish state; and that the kingdom of God in Christ is now the mightiest religious force in the world. The reign of the Lord Jesus Christ is primarily a conquest of the hearts of men, and therefore the beginning and progress of his kingdom is likened to the mustard seed and the leaven. As the number of his subjects increases, and his truth becomes

a conspicuous factor in human civilization, the kingdoms of the world become also a part of his heavenly dominion. So his kingdom is not of the world, but is destined to overcome the world.

Our explanation of the Revelation accepts the latter view of the kingdom of Christ. There is no teaching of our Lord more clearly recorded in the synoptic gospels than that the Son of Man was to come in his kingdom before some of those who heard him speak should taste of death (Matt. 16:28, Mark 9:1, Luke 9:27). And unless the language of Matthew 24, and its parallels in Mark and Luke are altogether misleading, Jesus most positively declared that his coming on the clouds of heaven would accompany or immediately follow the destruction of the Jewish state. The ruin of Jerusalem and the temple was to mark the end of the pre-Messianic age, and the full inauguration of a new dispensation of the kingdom of God.

We accordingly understand the Revelation to be a visional picture of the fall of Judaism with its national city and temple, and the consequent assured establishment of Christianity. The old covenant had "become aged, and was nigh unto vanishing away" (Heb. 8:13), but its removal involved a shaking not only of the earth, but also of the heaven (Heb. 12:26). The mighty change from the old to the new is depicted, in perfect harmony with the style of the Old Testament apocalypses, as a world-convulsing revolution. Sun, moon and stars and the heaven itself collapse, and the crisis of ages is signaled by voices and thunders and earthquake. But to insist that such symbolical pictures are a literal description of the destruction of the physical world is to shut one's eyes to the obviously metaphorical significance of the same language in the Old Testament.

Any adequate exposition of the Revelation requires a volume larger than the book itself. In the remaining space allotted to this article we can only outline the general plan and contents of the prophecy.

The book is divisible into two nearly equal parts, the second beginning with chapter 12. These two parts are together a duplicate picture of the one great theme. Similar examples of a double apocalyptic representation are seen in the dreams of Joseph and of Pharaoh, and in the prophecies of Daniel and of Zechariah. Accordingly, the overthrow of "Babylon the Great" in the second part is but a symbolical counterpart of "the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt" in the first part. The catastrophe of the first part ends with the vision of the opened temple of God in the heaven, and the sound of great voices in heaven shouting, "The kingdom of the world

is become the kingdom of our Lord and of his Christ: and he shall reign unto the ages of the ages" (11:15). The catastrophe of the second part is followed by the vision of the New Jerusalem, the river and tree of life, the throne of God and of the Lamb, the glory of his servants, and the declaration that "they shall reign unto the ages of the ages" (22:5). The following analysis of these two sections, presented by the author before the American Society of Biblical Exegesis, and printed in its Journal, is herewith submitted to the readers of THE BIBLICAL WORLD.

ANALYSIS.

FIRST PART.

The Revelation of the Lamb, I.-XI.

| | |
|--|----------|
| <i>a.</i> Title and superscription | 1:1-3 |
| <i>b.</i> Salutation. | 1:4-6 |
| <i>c.</i> Apocalyptic announcement | 1:7-8 |
| I. THE EPISTLES TO THE SEVEN CHURCHES | 1:9-3:22 |
| <i>a.</i> Introductory Christophany | 1:9-20 |
| <i>b.</i> The seven epistles: | |
| 1. To the Church in Ephesus | 2:1-7 |
| 2. To the Church in Smyrna | 2:8-11 |
| 3. To the Church in Pergamum | 2:12-17 |
| 4. To the Church in Thyatira | 2:18-29 |
| 5. To the Church in Sardis | 3:1-6 |
| 6. To the Church in Philadelphia | 3:7-13 |
| 7. To the Church in Laodicea | 3:14-22 |
| II. THE OPENING OF THE SEVEN SEALS | 4-7 |
| <i>a.</i> The heavenly theophany | 4:1-11 |
| <i>b.</i> The book with seven seals | 5:1-5 |
| <i>c.</i> The lamb at the throne | 5:6-10 |
| <i>d.</i> The worship of God and the Lamb | 5:11-14 |
| <i>e.</i> The opening of the seals: | |
| 1. First seal opened (white horse) | 6:1, 2 |
| 2. Second seal opened (red horse) | 6:3, 4 |
| 3. Third seal opened (black horse) | 6:5, 6 |
| 4. Fourth seal opened (pale horse) | 6:7, 8 |
| 5. Fifth seal opened (souls under altar) | 6:9-11 |
| 6. Sixth seal opened (shaking of earth and heavens) | 6:12-17 |
| [First interlude | 7 |
| (1) The sealing of elect Israel | 7:1-8 |
| (2) The innumerable multitude washed in the blood of the Lamb | 7:9-17] |
| 7. Seventh seal opened | 8:1 |

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| III. THE SOUNDING OF THE SEVEN TRUMPETS | 8—11 |
| <i>a.</i> The seven angels | 8:2 |
| <i>b.</i> The angel with the censer | 8:3-6 |
| <i>c.</i> The trumpets sounded : | |
| 1. First trumpet sounded (earth smitten) | 8:7 |
| 2. Second trumpet sounded (sea smitten) | 8:8, 9 |
| 3. Third trumpet sounded (rivers and fountains) | 8:10, 11 |
| 4. Fourth trumpet sounded (sun smitten) | 8:12 |
| [Eagle of woe | 8:13] |
| 5. Fifth trumpet sounded (locust-plague | 9:1-11 |
| [Second announcement of woe | 9:12] |
| 6. Sixth trumpet sounded (Euphrates-armies) | 9, 13-21 |
| [Second interlude | 10:1—11:13 |
| (1) Mighty angel from heaven | 10:1-7 |
| (2) Eating of the little book | 10:8-11 |

(The sealed book of 5:1-5 is now the opened book of 10:8-11. The Lamb took it out of the hand of him who sat on the throne (5:7); having opened its seven seals he gives it to John as a word of prophecy, and John takes it out of the angel's hand. The book is no other than "the revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave him" (*i.e.* Jesus), and which he in turn "sent and signified by his angel unto his servant John," as stated in chap. 1:1.)

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| (3) Measuring of the temple | 11:1, 2 |
| (4) The two witnesses | 11:3-13] |
| [Announcement of third woe | 11:14] |
| 7. Seventh trumpet sounded (the end) | 11:15-19 |
| (1) The kingdom becomes Christ's | 11:15 |
| (2) The song of triumph | 11:16-18 |
| (3) God's temple in heaven opened | 11:19 |

SECOND PART.

The Revelation of the Bride, the Wife of the Lamb, XII.-XXII.

| | |
|--|----------|
| I. THE WOMAN AND THE DRAGON | 12 |
| 1. The woman in travail | 12:1, 2 |
| 2. The great red dragon | 12:3-4 |
| 3. The child caught up to God and the woman nourished in the wilderness | 12:5-6 |
| 4. War in heaven | 12:7, 8 |
| 5. The dragon and his angels cast out | 12:9 |
| 6. Consequent joy in heaven | 12:10-12 |
| 7. Persecution of the woman and the rest of her seed | 12:13-17 |
| II. THE TWO BEASTS | 13 |
| 1. The beast out of the sea | 13:1-10 |
| 2. The beast out of the land | 13:11-18 |

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| III. A SEVENFOLD REVELATION OF TRIUMPH AND JUDGMENT | 14 |
| 1. The Lamb and his thousands on Mt. Zion | 14 : 1-5 |
| 2. The eternal gospel | 14 : 6, 7 |
| 3. Fallen Babylon | 14 : 8 |
| 4. The solemn admonition | 14 : 9-12 |
| 5. The blessed dead | 14 : 13 |
| 6. The harvest of the earth | 14 : 14-16 |
| 7. The vintage of judgment. | 14 : 17-20 |
| IV. THE SEVEN LAST PLAGUES | 15 : 16 |
| a. The seven angels | 15 : 1 |
| b. Song by the glassy sea | 15 : 2-4 |
| c. The procession of the angels | 15 : 5-8 |
| d. Pouring out of the bowls of wrath | 16 : 1 |
| 1. First plague (grievous sore) | 16 : 2 |
| 2. Second plague (sea turned to blood) | 16 : 3 |
| 3. Third plague (rivers and fountains turned to blood) | 16 : 4-7 |
| 4. Fourth plague (sun smitten) | 16 : 8, 9 |
| 5. Fifth plague (throne of beast smitten) | 16 : 10, 11 |
| 6. Sixth plague (Euphrates-armies) | 16 : 12-16 |
| 7. Seventh plague (Babylon doomed) | 16 : 17-21 |
| V. BABYLON, THE GREAT HARLOT | 17-19 : 10 |
| 1. Vision of the harlot | 17 : 1-6 |
| 2. The mystery explained | 17 : 7-18 |
| 3. Angelic proclamation | 18 : 1-3 |
| 4. Another heavenly voice | 18 : 4-8 |
| 5. Dirges and rejoicing over her fall | 18 : 9-20 |
| 6. Symbolic act and word of doom | 18 : 21-24 |
| 7. The heavenly halleluiahs | 19 : 1-8 |
| [Angel's words to John] | 19 : 9, 10] |
| VI. MILLENNIAL CONFLICT AND TRIUMPH | 19 : 11-21 : 8 |
| 1. The heavenly conqueror | 19 : 11-16 |
| 2. The great supper of sacrifice | 19 : 17, 18 |
| 3. Beast and false prophet destroyed | 19 : 19-21 |
| 4. Satan chained and in prison | 20 : 1-3 |
| 5. Millennial period consummated in the final overthrow of Satan | 20 : 4-10 |
| 6. The final judgment | 20 : 11-15 |
| 7. New Heaven, new Earth, and new Jerusalem | 21 : 1-8 |

[Here are seven closely related pictures of the assured triumph of the holy heaven over all the hostile powers of earth and hell, and each of the seven begins with "and I saw." This sevenfold vision of victory corresponds in the apocalyptic scheme with the seven last plagues which issued in the fall of

Babylon the harlot. The last of those seven was accompanied by a voice from the throne which said "it is done" (16:17), and Babylon the great was judged. The last of these seven is accompanied by another voice from the throne, which says "they are done" (21:6), and all things are made new (*cf.* 11:15). The entire Messianic era is here viewed as one group of pictures, and the seer beholds it as a unit, and makes no attempt, as literalists imagine, to write a history of Christianity beforehand. His prophecy is of things destined to come to pass shortly, and the vision of "the thousand years" is in no way inconsistent with this claim. The new age simply and quickly follows the conclusion of the old, and in a few vivid pictures set in symbolic figures which the Old Testament prophets had already employed, the writer portrays all that was given him to know of the great future of the kingdom of God.

It should also be noted that as the seventh plague was followed by a detailed vision of Babylon the harlot, so the seventh vision of millennial triumph is followed by elaborate portraiture of "the Jerusalem which is above and is our mother" (Gal. 4:26). And each of these elaborated visions is a special and supplementary revelation of one of the seven angels of the seven bowls (*cf.* 17:1 and 21:9).]

VII. JERUSALEM, THE GLORIOUS BRIDE

21:9—22:5

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|---------------------------------|-----------|
| 1. Vision of New Jerusalem | 21:9-14 |
| 2. Measure of city and walls | 21:15-17 |
| 3. Materials of its structure | 21:18-21 |
| 4. Its temple and its light | 21:22, 23 |
| 5. Character of its inhabitants | 21:24-27 |
| 6. River and trees of life | 22:1, 2 |
| 7. Eternal reign in glory | 22:3-5 |

CONCLUSION

22:6-21

Comparative Religion Notes.

Religions for Humanity.—Bass of Glarus, Germany, delivered before the "General Evangelical Protestant Missionary Union" an address upon "The Task of our Missionary Cause," in which he described and compared the great religions of the world. "Missions," said he, "have for their presupposition the idea that religion goes beyond national boundaries and that humanity is a great whole which should find unity in its holiest feelings and interests. Building on this presupposition three religions have laid claim to the destiny of becoming world religions, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam. But though Buddhism and Islam are steadily making new converts, neither will ever be the religion of humanity. Not Buddhism. For that which is to pervade and vivify all mankind, is not something that has been hatched out in the solitude of a monastery, is not to be an embodiment of flight from the world, nor is it blind to the value of life; but it must spring out of the fresh full life of a people, must be adapted to the fresh, full life of mankind. Not Islam. For first it is confined by local and national bounds on account of its relation to the central sanctuary in Mekka, and, second, it came forth from the beginning as a completed system which as formed from the heterogeneous and foreign elements, lacked any flexibility and inner power of renewal, so that it was foreordained to stagnation and deprived of the ability to adapt itself to peoples of various spiritual characteristics.

"Christianity is wholly different. In it all things unite that can lend to a religion the capacity to become a world religion. It is the most internal and spiritual of all religions, based upon the inborn impulse of every man toward love, gratitude, trust. Hence it recommends itself naturally to nobler natures it has, from the first, easy and sympathetic access to the *anima naturaliter christiana*. It offers, however, so inexhaustible a treasury of powers for strengthening, comforting and purifying men, that it meets completely all inner needs. It communicates the most lofty knowledge of God, assigns to man the most dignified position in the universe that could be imagined, shows him a sure escape from sin and misery, educates him into the noblest morality, conducts him to inward peace. All this lends to Christianity a wondrous power to win hearts. In addition, it is dependent in its activity upon no people, no grade of culture, no period of time. This fact is due to its entering into the world, not as something complete from the first, neither in respect to written law, nor a definite organization. No religious founder left the future so open to his church as did Jesus. He satisfied himself with laying down the great fundamental principles of the kingdom of God, all else he left to

his followers. Thus the Christians were compelled themselves to seek the necessary outward form for the new divine life with which they were filled, themselves to undertake the doctrinal formulation of accepted truth, themselves to build the outward form of worship and organization. Therefore the possibility given to every age to do all this anew, and to every people so to form the Christian life on the basis of its own relations and in connection with its spiritual development hitherto, as shall best correspond to its national characteristics. Christianity can accordingly take on the most manifold forms without giving up any of its principles. While other religions have stiffened into formulas and rituals, Christianity can enter into ever new combinations, especially with the national life of its confessors. It can become national, a vivifying element in the spiritual life of a people. By all these advantages it is predisposed as no other religion to become not only the religion of a nation but of nations, yes, the universal human religion."

In What is the Hebrew Religion unique?—Mr. Th. G. Pinches presented before the Victoria Institute a paper, now printed in its Journal (Vol. 28, 1), on "The Religious Ideas of the Babylonians." Mr. Pinches is a careful and able scholar, but he has no faculty for the organization and literary presentation of his ideas. It is difficult to know exactly what he is getting at in this paper, but some of the materials he has collected are valuable. His theory seems to be this, that a monotheistic tendency is traceable in the development of the Babylonian religion, that, from early times, the more enlightened religionists believed that all gods were manifestations of one being. The proof is drawn (1) from the presence in proper names of identical characteristics and attitudes applied to different deities, *e. g.*, "Marduk-is-lord-of-the-gods," "Nebo-is-lord-of-the-gods," "Shamash-is-lord-of-the-gods;" (2) from the identification of one god with another, *e. g.*, in a document here translated Marduk is identified with thirteen other gods; (3) from a striking identification of many gods with a certain deity *Aa*, another form of whose name is *Ya*, *e. g.*, in names of the Eponym canon like Assur-*Aa*, *i. e.*, Assur is *Aa*; (4) from the use of the general term for god, *ilu*, in proper names and elsewhere in inscriptions, *e. g.*, Ibui-*ilu*, *i. e.*, "God has made," Amel-*ili*, *i. e.*, "man of God." Mr. Pinches adds that it cannot be said that the monotheistic side of the Babylonian religion was by any means so strong as the polytheistic. It was esoteric.

The proper names containing names of deities are the chief source of Mr. Pinches' materials, and he has given us some very interesting and important ones, which seem to be identical with biblical names. Thus Babylonia gives us Beliah, Samuel, Ahiah, Barachel, Ishmael, Gamaliel, Malchiah, Beniah, etc. The existence of this *Ya* or *Yawa* suggests some questions about Jah and Jehovah. He accepts a connection between these names. He declares that the existence of this name for "God in Assyro-Babylonian vouches for the extreme antiquity of the word and shows that it was common to a large

portion of the Semitic race. Yahwah (Jehovah), however, was a name of God peculiar to the Hebrews."

In the discussion of this paper some curious ideas were advanced. One view suggested was that this material argued in favor of a primitive monotheism; another, that "it disposed excellently of the imagination that Abraham was the first monotheist." Professor Hommel thought that the name *Aa* or *Yau*, meaning originally either (1) "heaven" or (2) "Ea," was the original of the Hebrew Yahu, which Moses transformed to Yahve (*i. e.*, Jehovah), so filling the old heathenish word for heaven (or Ea) with new substance, and giving a new theological meaning instead of the old mythological. Mr. Pinches could not agree that Moses knowingly did this, if Jah is the same as Ea, because Ea was creator not of the earth, but of the Gods, and to transform a being so distinctly polytheistic as this into the Hebrew Yahve would not have been desirable. It is certainly significant that so much of the Hebrew religious material finds its identical counterpart in the Babylonian. If, on the one hand, this fact does really argue in favor of a primitive monotheism—which is not so evident—it seems to threaten at the same time the uniqueness of the origin of the Hebrew religion and its development, for the same names and similar ideas appear in Babylonia, not merely previous to the origin of the Hebrew religion, but parallel with its history. Was it, after all, the use to which these names and institutions were put in Israel that was unique, not the names and institutions themselves?

It may be added that the position taken by Mr. Pinches in this paper respecting the existence of a Babylonian deity *Aa* equivalent to Yahve has been very emphatically negatived by Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., in a paper printed in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, for 1894. It is not evident, however, that the grounds he brings forward are sufficient to overthrow the positive evidence which Mr. Pinches gives. His language is very strong; *e. g.*, "the supposition that the deity Yah should have been known and worshiped in Babylonia prior even to the appearance of the Terachites in Palestine, without leaving any trace beyond the survival in proper names, is too preposterous to be seriously entertained." He would hold that the *aa* or *ya* is an emphatic ending which appears not merely in Babylonian names but in Hebrew names as well. Ahia would mean not "my brother is Yah," or "brother of Yah," but "dear brother" or, perhaps, "brotherly." While he has not been able to explain on his hypothesis the presence of the sign for "God" before this name *Aa* in Babylonian proper names, he has done real service to scholarship in compelling a revision of the ordinary view that all Hebrew proper names in which *ia* or *ya* is an element contain, therefore, necessarily the divine name Yahwe. Compare, for further discussion, Barton, in *Philadelphia Oriental Studies*, p. 87, and Driver, *Studia Biblica*, Vol. I., also a paper by Dr. Clay in the *Lutheran Church Review* for 1895, p. 196, where Professor Jastrow's views on some of these points are refuted.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE DISCOVERY OF A NEW TEMPLE ON PHILÆ.

FROM Herr Ludwig Borchardt, royal engineer, who has been sent as the representative of the German government at the excavations now being carried forward on the island of Philæ at the first cataract, the following card has been received :

SCHELLAL, 22, I, 1896.

LIEBER BREASTED: Wir haben jetzt hier einen neuen Tempel gefunden, in dem der nubische König Ergamenes mit Ptolemæus IV. zusammen vorkommt. Zu sehen ist von diesem Tempel so gut wie nichts, aber ich hoffe, wir werden ihn wieder aufbauen können.

IHR BORCHARDT.

That is to say: "We have just found a new temple here, in which the Nubian King Ergamenes occurs, together with Ptolemy IV. There is practically nothing to be seen of this temple, but we hope to be able to build it up again."

In view of the approaching dam, which the English are to build across the Nile above the beautiful island of Philæ, and which may result in the destruction of the lovely ruins there, excavations have this winter been undertaken, as one result of which the above temple has been discovered. Our frontispiece shows how much will be lost with even the partial demolition of the temple of Isis, which has made Philæ famous since the days of Herodotus.

IN a letter from Aaleeh, Mt. Lebanon, Syria, which appeared in the *Independent* for October 24, Dr. Henry H. Jessup, D.D., writes: "It is a new experience for us old residents in Syria to look out upon railway trains passing in the distance, and see the French locomotives dragging their burdens up the cogged track over Lebanon toward the Bukaa and Damascus. The passenger train is ten hours in passing over the one hundred and twenty miles, scaling Lebanon at an elevation of five thousand feet above the sea. The road was opened August 4, and already the freight traffic is so great that three freight trains a day cannot meet the demand. As we arrived August 12 from New York, we have not yet been over the road to Damascus; but Dr. Crawford tells me that the ride from Damascus up the river Abana to the fountain of Fijj, and on to Zebedany, under the dense shade of poplars and by the roaring river, is most refreshing and delightful. The ride over the heights of Lebanon is no less so, with its bold scenery and magnificent views of the distant sea and the rocky mountain gorges."

Notes and Opinions.

WE are sorry to record the discontinuance of the *Thinker*, the biblical and theological journal which for four years now has been edited by the Rev. Jas. Excell and published by Jas. Nisbet and Co., London. The reason given by the editor is as follows: "I am anxious to withdraw from all literary work as soon as possible, and to take a prolonged rest. Doubtless arrangements could have been made for the continuance of the magazine in other hands, but I have not cared to incur the trouble of making them. It is true that we sacrifice a considerable monthly circulation, but under the circumstances it cannot be easily avoided." The *Thinker* has rendered a real service to the biblical world by its good original articles, but mainly by the condensed reproduction of many leading articles from Bible scholars in all countries. There will be good original articles still published in various periodicals, but the latter work of bringing together many of the best articles in condensed form will cease with the *Thinker*; it was its special feature, and it will be the public's special loss.

Was Job Jehovah's Champion?—President Ballantine, of Oberlin, has published a brief essay on Job, entitled "Jehovah's Champion, a study of the Book of Job." It is a delightful series of interpretative chapters, written in a simple, clear style, and full of thoughtful suggestion. There is no reference to the historical background or purpose of the poem. It is interpreted as though a record of purely personal experience, as a contribution to a problem of individual life. He finds the keynote of all in the thought of Job as "Jehovah's champion, divinely selected and put forward to fight for God's honor." Is this satisfactory? A champion fights on behalf of some one against his enemy. But does the book anywhere suggest enmity between God and Satan or that God needs a champion against Satan? That relation between the two is of much later growth. The prologue represents Satan as an angel of God, and in his disagreeable ministry assigned by God himself to devote his attention to Job. In the poetical portions Job seems to be contending against God rather than for him—nay, he really does overcome the God whom his friends set up against him, and in whom he had himself once believed and to whom, in the prologue, he had humbly submitted. A new idea of God dawns upon him in his distress, born out of it. The old God is gone forever. The real purpose of the poem is to advance a new thought about Jehovah—to offer a *new Jehovah* to the Jews (in exile?). The sublimity of the poem lies not merely in the thought itself, but chiefly in the daring imagination which conceived and the mighty strength in achievement which

carried through the *method* of presenting the thought, viz., through the spiritual struggles of an individual brought down to the very gates of hell. Job is Jehovah's "champion" only in the sense of being a champion of the new against the old Jehovah. This idea, however, was not probably in Dr. Ballantine's mind when he chose the title. He has selected an unfortunate title for a most admirable booklet.

Germans to the Rescue of Moses!—Some of our German scholars are determined not to let the critical writers hold the field uncontested. Dr. Zahn has defended the Mosaic origin of Deuteronomy, and in general attacked critical methods and results. A new book has recently appeared from Pastor Eduard Rupprecht in behalf of the Mosaic origin of the entire Pentateuch. Both writers are vigorous in their methods of treatment, and a warmth of style suggestive of the purport makes them lively reading. They are fond of giving vivid titles to their books, implying their attitude. Zahn calls his book *Earnest Glances into the Madness of Modern Old Testament Criticism*; that of Rupprecht's is *The Riddle of the Mosaic Pentateuch and its False Solution*. The motto on the cover reads, "Why halt ye between two opinions? If the Lord be God, follow him; but if Baal, then follow him." To his mind most of the scholars are on Baal's side, even the moderate school, of which Dr. Delitzsch was a good representative, and to which such men as Zöckler, Strack, and Köhler now belong. The only man who has his approval is our own Dr. Wm. Henry Green, of Princeton. Criticism is, in his eyes, "the chief crime of the age." The theory of the critics is held up to genial ridicule. The "Redactor" is made the most of. A recent reviewer of the book sums up Rupprecht's address to him as follows: "Tell me, my poor Redactor, what is your true character, you play so many parts. Sometimes you are an inspired genius, at other times no better than a fool. Now you figure as a learned investigator, again you are woefully ignorant. One thing is clear: you are a very ill-used person. Well for your critics that you are not alive, or you might sue them for defamation of character. They make a poor scapegoat of you. At times you are a real martyr. Looking at your various rôles, I tell you what you really are: you are a *genialer Esel*, an ass of genius." There is a real attempt at meeting the arguments of the critics in some parts of the volume, but the larger portion of it is denunciation or raillery. The bad effects of critical study are made much of. "Dear J." and "good friend P." are responsible for the retirement of many a student from the theological field and his taking up of philosophy. "Old Moses" must have his own again. This criticism is all a "magic mirror," into which one looking sees a threefold image where there is but one reality. "I resolved," he says, "that I would never rest till I had helped to shiver to atoms this demoniacal critical magic-mirror which turns the heads of many pious men and blinds them." And again, his exhortation to a troubled but faithful soul is "But do you hold fast only to the Lord of heaven and his testimony to the

Old Testament and to Moses, of whose 'writings' he speaks in the most express manner; and to the testimony of the apostles to the Old Testament. What are the real results of science do not oppose this. What does war against it, is conjecture, hypothesis. Christ or professor? Choose!"

Israel as a Factor in History.—Under this caption Professor Schodde, in the *Treasury*, develops the paradox which Hebrew history illustrates how a people insignificant in a political sense has yet exerted a mighty influence upon the development of thought in the world. One who reads the Old Testament history solely is liable to overlook the fact that Israel was an important factor in the politics of Western Asia only in the time of David and Solomon. Her prominence at that day was not so much because of her own power as by the divine Providence which at just that period put the leading nations of antiquity under a cloud. Egypt was suffering from internal disorder, and Assyria from external pressure in that wonderful tenth century before Christ, which saw the dawn of Israel's monarchy. During the succeeding centuries the Hebrew nation "was at best but a third or fourth-rate political power, and never able to cope independently with" these empires. A false perspective would make her stand out as the leader in the movements of the day, and would represent the other nations as waiting for the opportunity to catch her in a moment of weakness to compass her fall. Politics did not revolve about Jerusalem or Samaria in those times, and the struggles of an Isaiah would have seemed very petty to a statesman or general of Nineveh if he had known anything about them. The advantage of a study of the history of the nations of antiquity as a whole lies in its giving a correct perspective, setting Israel in its rightful position among those nations. Every Bible student ought not to be satisfied to know the history of Israel only.

On the other hand it is equally true that the political relations and position of Israel represented only half of her history, and disclose little of her ultimate importance. Inside of those small fortresses and upon those narrow tablelands ideas and forces were being developed which have since contributed largely to guide and control the destinies of the world. Assyria and Egypt have done nothing like the fruitful work for humanity which was accomplished in little Israel. If a nation is great in proportion as it has furnished leading and lasting factors and forces to the development of the greatest nations, then Israel may well rank as the first nation of history. Certainly only Greece can approach it in the fertility and permanence of the service rendered to mankind. To study this remarkable paradox of history, to observe how these mighty and enduring elements were produced and grown upon so insignificant a field, in circumstances so constrained—this makes the history of Israel one of the most fascinating and enlightening subjects for the student of mankind.

Work and Workers.

AN attempt is being made in Germany to introduce for school and family reading what is called the "School Bible," an edition of the Bible from which is omitted those portions of the Scriptures which are not desirable for general or public reading because of the subjects of which they treat, or the plainness of the language, or the imagery employed. The movement is supported by liberals, and opposed by conservatives.

THE death of Rev. Talbot W. Chambers, D.D., took place in New York City, February 4, after a prominent and useful life of seventy-seven years. Since 1849 he had been a minister of the Collegiate Dutch Church, and at the time of his death was President of the Western Division of the Alliance of the Reformed Churches. He was also a trustee of Princeton and of Rutgers Colleges. He had been a member of the American Committee on Bible Revision, and was chairman of the Committee on Versions of the American Bible Society.

A COLPORTER of the American Bible Society recently undertook to present forty-five copies of the Greek New Testament to the monks in the Greek monastery of Mt. Athos. He was regarded with suspicion, but they agreed to take the books, only they did not wish to give him any acknowledgment of their receipt. As he thought he could not part with them without such an acknowledgment, they became still more suspicious, would have nothing to do with the books, and summarily dismissed him from the monastery. But business forms must be observed.

THE first four volumes of the *Modern Reader's Bible*, edited by Professor R. G. Moulton, of the University of Chicago, and published by Messrs. Macmillan & Co., of New York, are now announced. They are the great wisdom books of the Old Testament and Apocrypha, namely, *Ecclesiasticus*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Wisdom of Solomon*, and *Job*. The text is that of the Revised Version, with the marginal readings generally preferred, and accompanied by an introduction and a few annotations. The purpose of the volumes is to present these ancient pieces of literature in modern literary form. The little books are attractive, and the purpose is certainly accomplished.

THE new building of the College of the Bible at Lexington, Kentucky, was recently completed and dedicated. It is three stories high, of brick and stone, and stands upon the campus of Kentucky University, of which the College of the Bible is a component though independent part. There is an attendance of about one hundred and fifty students. President J. W. McGarvey has made the school one of knowledge and influence. There are

four departments: the School of English, the School of Sacred History and the Evidences of Christianity, the School of Sacred Literature, and the School of Philosophy. In them all the Bible is the text-book, and much faithful work is done in the study of the Scriptures from all points of view.

THE *Independent* calls attention to the fact that no considerable good has come from the Pope's encyclical letter of two years ago on the subject of the study of the Bible. During these two years not a single new edition of the Bible, or of any part of it, has appeared under the auspices of the Church. There is one edition in three large volumes for sale costing twelve francs. There is an edition of the New Testament alone, printed in 1882 in Turin, costing four francs in paper cover; and there are two or three editions of Gospels alone somewhat cheaper, but still very expensive. It is stated that at the archiepiscopal bookstore at Milan, probably the largest in Italy, not a hundred copies of all these editions together are sold in a year. It is interesting to contrast with this the last reports of the British and Foreign Bible Society and the National Bible Society of Scotland. The circulation of the two together was: Bibles, 7662; Testaments, 16,926; portions, 165,065 making a total of 189,633, an increase of nearly 25,000 copies.

THE Boston publishing house of Thomas Y. Crowell & Co. have in preparation a volume to be entitled *The Bible as Literature*, made up of twenty essays from a number of prominent biblical scholars on different books of the Old and New Testaments, and upon various aspects of the Bible in general. An introduction for the work will be written by Lyman Abbott, and there will be chapters as follows: "The Bible as Literature," by Professor R. G. Moulton; "The Law of Moses," by Dr. A. B. Bruce; "The Age of the Judges," by Professor L. W. Batten; "Ruth and Esther" and "The Book of Jonah," by Rev. J. W. Whiton; "The Book of Job as Literature," by Professor J. F. Genung; "The Poetry of the Psalms," by Dr. Henry Van Dyke; "The Love Song of the Bible," by Dr. W. E. Griffis; "The Influence of Biblical upon Modern English Literature," by Professor A. S. Cook. The subjects and authors of the remaining chapters are not yet announced. The volume will no doubt be well received, and will be of considerable value in a popular way.

DR. KENNEDY, Professor of Oriental Languages at Edinburgh University, delivered a course of seven lectures on the History of Pentateuchal Criticism, to ministers, in the Christian Institute, Glasgow, on Monday afternoons during November and December. The titles of the lectures were as follows—Purpose and plan of the course: I. The Mosaic Tradition Stated and Tested; The Pioneers—Spinosa, Simon, Le Clerc. Three Stages of Pentateuchal Criticism: II. Criticism mainly *Literary*; Astruc, Eichhorn, Ilgen; III. *Historical* Criticism, and the School of De Wette; IV. The Graf-Wellhausen Theory of the Pentateuch. The Documents of the Pentateuch Examined: V. The Leading Characteristics of the Prophetical (J. E.)

and Deuteronomic (D.) Sources. VI. The Priest's Code (P.), Its Value for History and Doctrine. Summary of Results: VII. Effect of Modern Criticism on Current Conceptions of Old Testament Religion. Professor Kennedy's lectures were largely biographical. He gave an account of the various Old Testament Critics from Spinoso to our own day, illustrating his remarks by an exhibition of the various books that have been written on the Pentateuch. Some of them are very rare, as for example Astruc's book, which none present had ever seen before. Among the helps recommended *Hebraica* Vol. V. following was given the leading place. Between forty and fifty ministers were enrolled, embracing all the denominations. This is the second course of lectures delivered to ministers in Glasgow and neighborhood. Dr. Bruce gave the first course last winter. The third course is to be given in November and December, 1896, by Rev. Professor Orr, of the United Presbyterian Hall, Edinburgh. It will likely be the same course he delivers in Chicago during the summer, and will consist of lectures on German Theology.

PROFESSOR PAUL HAUPT, of Johns Hopkins University, has just returned from Europe, where he has been conferring with the gentlemen associated with him in preparing the critical edition of the Hebrew Bible and the English translation of the same. He says that one-half of the work is already in type, and that the books of Genesis, the Psalms, Chronicles, Ezra, Nehemiah, Ezekiel and Daniel will soon be issued. It is expected that the completed work will appear in 1897. The new English translation is also making satisfactory progress. Of the six parts in type three will appear in the spring, namely, Isaiah, in three colors, translated by Canon T. N. Cheyne, of Oxford; Judges, in six colors, translated by Professor George F. Moore, of the Andover (Mass.) Theological Seminary, and the Psalms, the critical German prose translation of which was made by Professor Wellhausen, of the University of Göttingen, and the poetical translation from this by Professor Horace Howard Furness, the distinguished Shakesperean scholar, of Philadelphia. The English translation will be issued by the Friedenwald Company, of Baltimore, new fonts of type having been especially cast for the purpose. The paper and press work will be the finest obtainable, and the work will be embellished with numerous illustrations collected by Professor Haupt. The other three parts in type are Leviticus, translated by Canon S. R. Driver, of Oxford; Ezekiel, translated by Professor C. H. Toy, of Harvard; and Kings, translated by Professor B. Stade, of the University of Giessen, Germany. The biblical scholars throughout the world are looking forward with eager interest to the outcome of this great undertaking. It will be the aim of Dr. Haupt, the editor-in-chief, and the eminent scholars associated with him, to give to the world a critical text of the Hebrew Scriptures that will come to be recognized by scholars as the standard text. In regard to their new English translation of the Old Testament books, it is their aim to make it at once more accurate and rhythmical than either the authorized or revised version.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

GENERAL NOTES.

The summer work of the Institute is now beginning to assume definite shape. To the list of ten Chautauqua assemblies to which instructors were sent last year it is probable that several will this year be added. At the following assemblies arrangements are practically made: Winfield, Kans.; Harrisonburg, Va.; Lake Madison, S. D.; Monteagle, Tenn.; Ottawa, Kans.; Lakeside, Ohio; Louisiana Chautauqua; Barnesville, Ohio; Winona, Ind.; Bay View, Mich.; Pertle Springs, Mo.; Rocky Mountain, Colo. In addition to these the Bible School at Chautauqua, N. Y., with its staff of six instructors, is conducted by the Institute. The home of this school will eventually be in the new Hall of the Christ which it is hoped may be built before the summer.

For this work of summer Bible teaching many of the members of the COUNCIL OF SEVENTY are placing themselves at the disposal of the Institute. No organization has at its command a larger or more efficient corps of workers in this field.

The following have already accepted membership in the COUNCIL :

New Testament Chamber.—Professor R. R. Lloyd, Pacific Theological Seminary, Oakland, Cal.; Professor Rush Rhees, Newton Theological Institution, Newton, Mass.; Professor W. F. Steele, University of Denver, Denver, Colo.; Dr. J. H. Ropes, Harvard University; Professor J. S. Riggs, Auburn Theological Seminary, Auburn N. Y.; Professor J. F. Riggs, New Brunswick Theological Seminary, New Brunswick, N. J.; Professor G. H. Gilbert, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago.; Professor Shailer Mathews, University of Chicago; Professor E. D. Burton, University of Chicago; Mr. C. W. Votaw, University of Chicago; Professor C. F. Bradley, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

Old Testament Chamber.—Professor F. K. Sanders, Yale University; Professor D. A. McClenahan, United Presbyterian Theological Seminary, Allegheny, Pa.; Professor E. L. Curtis, Yale University; Professor A. H. Huizinga, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago; Professor Lincoln Hulley, Bucknell University, Lewisburg, Pa.; Professor Charles Horswell, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.; Professor A. S. Carrier, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago; Professor W. R. Harper, University of Chicago; Dr. H. L. Willett, University of Chicago; Professor F. B. Denio, Bangor Theological Seminary, Bangor, Maine.

General Chamber.—Professor Geo. B. Foster, University of Chicago ; Professor D. B. McDonald, Hartford, Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn. ; Professor E. T. Harper, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago ; Professor W. D. MacKenzie, Chicago Theological Seminary, Chicago ; Professor A. C. Zenos, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago ; Professor G. S. Goodspeed, University of Chicago ; Dr. J. H. Breasted, University of Chicago ; President G. S. Burroughs, Wabash College, Crawfordsville, Ind. ; President C. J. Little, Garrett Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill. ; Dr. J. H. Barrows, University of Chicago.

The following has been adopted as the general platform of the Council ;

"The Council does not stand for any theory of interpretation or school of criticism or denomination ; but for a definite endeavor to promote the knowledge of the Word of God as interpreted in the best light of today. From this point of view also the contributions of other religious literatures are sought by the Council that through the study of these literatures the teachings of the Scriptures may be more clearly understood.

The Council is organized on the belief that the Bible is a unique revelation from God, and strives in a constructive spirit to investigate its teachings and to extend its influence among the people. While, therefore, a large liberty is allowed to the individual teacher, the position occupied by the Council is altogether evangelical.

The college prize examinations last year inaugurated will be again offered. The winners of the prizes in the examinations of 1895 were as follows :

First prize in Hebrew, Isaac Husik, University of Pennsylvania ; Second prize in Hebrew, Godlove C. Seibert, German Theological Seminary, Bloomfield, N. J. First prize in New Testament Greek, Edna White, University of N. B., Canada. Second prize in New Testament Greek, Clyde V. Fogle, University of Oregon, Eugene, Oregon. First prize in the English Bible, Grace E. McGaw, Rockford College, Rockford, Ill. ; Second prize in English Bible H. Edwin Hawkes, Yale College. It is due to the winners of these prizes to say that the questions were such as would dignify any college examination. They were perhaps more difficult than the usual college standard. The judges were : Hebrew.—Professor Samuel Ives Curtiss, of the Chicago Theological Seminary, Professor Wm. Henry Green, of Princeton Theological Seminary, and Professor David G. Lyon, of Harvard University. New Testament Greek.—Professor Wm. Arnold Stevens, of the Rochester Theological Seminary, Professor Chas. F. Bradley, of Garrett Biblical Institute, and Professor J. S. Riggs, of Auburn Theological Seminary. English Bible.—President Geo. S. Burroughs of Wabash College, Professor F. K. Sanders, of Yale, and Professor W. W. Moore, of the Union Theological Seminary, Hampden Sidney, Va.

Sixty-three colleges engaged in the contest. The object of the examinations is fivefold :

(a) To induce college students who contemplate entering the ministry, to obtain a working knowledge of Hebrew and New Testament Greek, thereby saving much time for purely exegetical work in the Seminary.

(b) To induce colleges to add courses in Hebrew and New Testament Greek to their curricula, by creating a demand for such work from the students.

(c) To provide for all college students a special incentive for the study of the English Bible, (a) as an unique literature, (b) as the record of a unique history, (c) as a text-book of religious principles, (d) in relation to the influence which it has exerted in the history of the world.

(d) To test the work now being done in these lines in the colleges of the United States and Canada, and if possible to gain facts with which to refute the current impression concerning the ignorance of the college student on biblical subjects.

(e) If possible to secure data which will help to convince the vast number of colleges in which no adequate biblical instruction is offered, that it is important to add to their intellectual equipment the facilities for the best work in these lines.

Although full announcements of the examinations for 1896 cannot be made until next month, it may be said that the questions in Hebrew and New Testament Greek will be of the same grade as last year, viz., the first year in each language. In the English Bible two subjects will be offered: in the New Testament, the life and work of Paul, and in the Old Testament the Hebrew Psalter. The prizes are one hundred, and fifty dollars, first and second prizes respectively in each subject.

Preparations are making for the reading work of 1896-7. In the Guild the subject to be taken up is the "Foreshadowings of the Christ." A most attractive list of books on this subject will be presented. The outline club course will cover a study of the literature of the Bible in the light of the history of the centuries during which it was produced. These will be most attractive subjects both in themselves and because of their freshness to the average student.

Communications and Questions.

So many questions and communications of general interest are received by the editors of the Biblical World, that it has seemed best to publish such of them as seem especially important, together with such answers as may be suggested.

Does the theory of evolution of the human species clash with the theory of a fall taught in Genesis? How can they be reconciled?

—CLERICUS.

Between the holiness of our Bible and the intelligence of our science no real inconsistency can exist. The appearance of such can arise only from the misunderstanding of one or both of them. In this instance we judge the Bible has been misunderstood, if the story of the fall be not recognized as belonging to the primitive traditions of humanity, devised with the noblest purpose ever possessing the mind of man, namely, the endeavor to explain the origin of evil in the world and at the same time to clear God from the charge of complicity with sin. The familiar but rarely comprehended fact that in this story a serpent is represented as endowed with the power of speech should alone convince one that here is something we must regard as shot through with poetry, and not opposed to science. When Comparative Religion is taught in our seminaries and universities this belief in animal speech will be recognized as a universal trait of primitive thought, with which science does not conflict, but lifts into higher meaning.

E. B.

Remonstrance on "Summer Bible Study, its Encouragements and its Warnings," (DR. WILLIAM R. HARPER in the BIBLICAL WORLD, September, 1895, pp. 161-67), made by REV. ALEXANDER B. GROSART, D.D., L.L.D., Dublin.

You will bear with me, I hope, if I proceed summarily to tell you the points wherein I feel called on to offer a respectful remonstrance and to seek explanations as well as make certain suggestions.

1. With reference to your sweeping generalization and condemnation of the American pulpit, because of its ministers' alleged ignorance of the Bible and want of interest in Sunday schools, Bible classes, instruction in the Bible, etc., and the absence of biblical and theological knowledge in their preaching, I might retort upon you the crushing reply of John Foster to the atheist, that it would require a man to be omniscient and omnipresent to affirm that there

is no God, seeing that somewhere, all unknown to him and beyond his ken, God might be. But I do not so retort on your necessarily limited knowledge of the vast and widely spread American pulpit. I simply question if your knowledge of so large an aggregate of American ministers is adequate to give authority to so wide a generalization. Individual ministers whom you have met and know about, may probably answer to your drastic description; but surely it is asking too much of us on this side of the Atlantic, to accept as true of the great body of Christian ministers in the United States, that they are of the sorry type you have painted — ignorant, lazy, unspiritual.

I speak, I am confident, for many of my fellow ministers when I state that very different is our estimate of the American pulpit. That estimate, based on full knowledge, is a high one of the general level or average. No doubt the American ministers who as visitors to the mother country occupy our pulpits and address our Sunday schools and visit our Bible classes, are exceptional men. None the less, placed beside exceptional British or Irish ministers, they hold their own. Nor is this all. Taking the American pulpit or sermon and theological literature, the average again leaves a very different impression from your representation. The preaching and exposition of America that reaches us is recognized as sharp, fresh, brilliant and eminently biblical. Besides all this, I can speak from my own knowledge and observation while a visitor-traveler in the United States for well-nigh a whole year. The *motif* of my visit and researches took me over nearly all the New England States and over many of the Southern, and wherever I went I found two things: (*a*) That my own preaching (if I must speak of it) was never and nowhere so acceptable as when I gave my audiences the old, old evangelical facts and doctrines; (*b*) That wherever I was a hearer I was struck with the high average of the preaching — deploring only the too frequent somewhat nasal and monotonous reading instead of delivery of the sermons. There was mental vigor, spiritual vision, full biblical knowledge, and often, and often fervid pæons of earnestness. Certainly I should never dream of placing the American pulpit beneath our own country's average (Scotland), or England, or Ireland.

I must frankly confess, therefore, that I am disposed to think your knowledge of faulty individuals and the perhaps laggard response and even thwarting of some, to your zealous efforts toward scientific study of the Bible, have led you to a pessimistic conclusion as to the decadence of the American pulpit, and emphatically as to the lack of biblical knowledge and of interest in the Sunday school, etc. I am wicked enough to be reminded of Dr. Thomas Chalmers's stratagem to get rid of an ultra self-blaming old maid — namely, by agreeing with her that she had a vile heart — that she was a wicked woman, and so on, and so on — ending in her turning upon the good doctor and demanding how he dared to blackguard a respectable member of his congregation — and no more of such pseudo-confessions. Do I wrong you in believing that anything approaching denunciation of the American pulpit

by a Britisher—any agreement with your condemnation of the American pulpit, by a Britisher—should have aroused your indignation?

2. I am, if possible, still more pained and troubled by your verdict on the Sunday schools of the United States. I could hardly credit my own eyes when I read the following:

“Nine-tenths of the teaching in the Sunday schools [of America] is, as teaching, a farce. The work of many of these so-called Sunday school teachers, if judged upon the standard of ordinary principles of pedagogy, is ludicrous, and at the same time criminal. It is ludicrous to call such work teaching. This work is criminal if it is looked at from the point of view of the innocent pupils who suffer from it” (p. 164).

Why, sir, if in anything the United States churches were held to be ahead of the mother-country, it was in the Sunday school. To have the American Sunday school teaching branded as a farce! takes away our breath in amazed bewilderment. For myself, I know no Sunday-school literature equal to that which, for many years, has come to us from the United States; *e. g.*, the studies and expositions of the year's lessons in anticipation, have to my knowledge proved at once helps and stimuli of no common kind and to no common degree. The “Westminster” lessons of the Presbyterians and Dr. Pentecost's and similar volumes have been systematically used and found to be first-class. With so out-and-out biblical and evangelical a literature at the command of your Sunday school teachers, and the multitude of inestimable Sunday school books used by your various denominational publishing societies, you must not be surprised if I am more than incredulous in regard to your pronouncement. Then, again, speaking for myself, I visited scores and scores of American Sunday schools and if I was impressed with the intellectual force and the spiritual note of the American pulpit, still more was I impressed with the intelligence, the biblical knowledge, the readiness and raciness of response on the part of classes examined and mustered, schools addressed and interrogated. So that, altogether, I am perplexed by your vehement condemnation and charges of ignorance and criminality.

Put the thing to the vote, and I shall be disappointed indeed if there be not millions in the United States eager to testify to undying benefits received in the Sunday school. I must also be permitted to doubt that the Bible is so unvalued and unused in American families as you represent. I have “sunny memories” of households of New England and of the Southern states, *e. g.*, Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas, wherein the Bible was enthroned as the Book of God and the god of books, and where I breathed a heavenly atmosphere.

3. Scarcely less disturbing and poignantly painful is your supercilious attitude toward the American Sunday school teachers, on the plea that they are “uneducated, unskilled, and sometimes unconsecrated teachers” (p. 164).

Surely, surely sir, it is a poor return for the fine devotedness, the ungrudg-

ing labors, the persistently continuous fidelity of attendance, the love and compassion of the multitudes of "uneducated, unskilled" men and women found in your country's and in our Sunday schools, to so chastise them. It is to the honor of relatively lowly and hard-working "common people" that all along they have been the back-bone of our churches and Sunday schools and workers; that when educated, cultured, skilled, advantaged hung back (same as described earlier in this paper) they took their places in the Sunday school and willingly, not grudgingly or perfunctorily, added to six days of toilsome manual labor a seventh for the Lord's work, and that manfully, often without recognition and without word of cheer. Sir, I speak of what I know, I testify, of what I have seen; and I tell you that the famous Sunday schools of Lancashire and Yorkshire, of Wales and Cornwall (wherein today adults even to white hairs gather as well as the young), would have gone out of sight long ago had it not been for the "commonalty" who have given themselves to Sunday school work. After a ministry of nearly forty years, and experience in always large Sunday schools, I make bold to affirm that the Sunday school teachers who did most real and blessed service for the Master and for myself, were not your educated and cultured but your "uneducated" though not "unskilled" men and women of the working classes.

As I have stated, I agree with you absolutely as to the need of and place for all intellectual and scholarly gifts and acquirements. I reiterate, that I am the last to seek to lessen "scientific study of the Bible" whether for pulpit or Sunday school; I would raise rather than lower the scholarship and culture required for the instructing of others; and I am not oblivious of the higher level of education with you as with us. But, after all, may not too much be made of the "scientific study of the Bible?" Is it not to forget that for many a long day the proportion of scientifically trained members of our churches and Sunday schools must be a mere minority? I pronounce it "ludicrous" and "criminal" to exact for the Sunday school teachers your ten heads of plan (p. 166), or to advise the occupying of the all too brief Sunday school hours with such merely informing matters. I protest that the Sunday school is no place for instructing on your ten things (whatever the summer schools may be); that God's sabbath is no day for imparting information merely but for an infinitely higher thing, transformation—not for knowledge only but saving knowledge; that the Sunday school ought to be sacred for spiritual instruction on the supreme facts of human nature and of redemption. For these spiritual results the church needs not your scholar, nor theologian, nor book-learned men, but your men and women taught of the Holy Ghost and given wisdom in answer to the prayers of faith; twice-born men and women, who can speak "from faith to faith," by speaking and teaching out of their own actual experience of conversion and sanctification and the hope of glory. These are the grand essentials, the solid fundamentals, and however (in a sense) "uneducated and unskilled" a Sunday school teacher

may chance to be, if he knew the "word of the Lord" his class will soon find it out and be thrilled into interest and held captive blessedly. I do not for a moment doubt that you will accept these as the issues to be sought—to gain and retain souls for Christ, to win by grace of God, the scholars of the Sunday school to be "found *in* Christ" and to possess and be possessed by the life of God. It isn't learning of science but gracious wisdom that secures these ends. It is godly men and women whose daily lives and whole bearing tell that they "walk" with Jesus, ever yearning for the "closer walk." It is for such teachers and by such teaching that the Sunday school scholars are taught reverence—awe—worship—prayerfulness—faith—hope—love—the necessity of the "new birth"—of growth in the inner life, increasing with the name of God, or sanctity—Christ-like lives through the Holy Ghost—fellowship of the saints—consecration. *Ergo* whenever the Holy Ghost has made a man a Christian, *cæteris paribus*, you have there a man (or woman) whom Jesus Christ will own and use; and so he is to be welcomed, not snubbed; appraised, not under-valued. I insist on this aspect the more strenuously because the whole strain of your paper leads up to substitution of scholarly teaching for spiritual and head-cultured for heart-cultured teachers. Surely with so much and such rich literature available for week-day, it is to forget the design of the Christian sabbath—of the assembly of the church and of the Sunday school—to subordinate the spiritual to the intellectual, or grace grading into grace, to mere adding to knowledge on external matters. In a word, I must hold that the Sunday school ought to have for *motif*, and impulse, and fruit, the winning of the scholars for Christ as in the old-fashioned but still vital phraseology, to save souls.

I hope that you will forgive any unintentional sharpness of phrasing, and allow this Remonstrance to appear in the BIBLICAL WORLD as a pepper-corn acknowledgment of intellectual and spiritual debt to the American pulpit and to the American Sunday school literature.

Book Reviews.

The Truth of the Christian Religion. By JULIUS KAFTAN, D.D., Professor of Theology in the University of Berlin, Translated under the authors, inspection by George Ferris, B.D., with a Prefatory Note by Robert Flint, D.D., LL.D., Professor of Divinity in the University of Edinburgh. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1894. Imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. 2 vols. pp. x + 357, 6 + 445. Price; \$6.00.

In philosophy Dr. Kaftan is a Neo-Kantian; in theology he is a Ritschlian in natural ability and culture he easily ranks among the foremost thinkers of our day. It goes without saying, therefore, that we have in the work before us a large and important contribution to theological thought. In volume one we have an unusually profound and acute historical study; in volume two an equally profound and acute work of construction.

The Ritschlian school to which Dr. Kaftan belongs has a wide and widening influence in Germany today, and that influence will through this translation largely extend through England and America. This school numbers among its adherents no less an historian than Harnack at Berlin—the successor of Neander—no less theologians and critics than Herrmann, Schultz, and Wendt.

This notice can do no more than call attention to the book.

Dr. Kaftan sets for himself a great problem. It is the overthrow of dogma—and the establishment of the Christian faith on its own sufficient basis of practical feeling and experience—all resting on the revelation of God in Christ.

It is eminently fitting that such an undertaking should begin with a searching historical criticism. Therefore after a subtle introduction in which he seeks “a distinct conception of what has to be proved” he takes up the origin of dogma. Dogma arose from the attempt to objectify the Christian faith. Immediately reason becomes necessary. Now, we have reason that is controlled by the subject matter; the reason that helps to control the formation of the concept; the reason that belongs to a particular system of theology or philosophy; the reason that convinces a particular age. In searching for the reason that controlled in the formation of dogma we quickly find that it was the reason of the idealistic philosophy of the Graeco-Roman world of later antiquity, and we have as result ecclesiastical dogma arising from the interaction of this philosophy with the Christian faith. Philosophy supplied the form, the Christian faith the content. It was not long until philosophy mate-

rially influenced the content—and the Christian religion produced the impression upon the cultured Graeco-Roman world that it was a *new philosophy*. We have thus the beginning of an alliance from which Christianity has not to this day been able to rid itself. The successive steps in the progress are clearly indicated. How manifold differences arise, how the Logos idea comes to express the correlation of the Godhead, man and the world. How the idea of The Kingdom of God arose in opposition; how the Logos idea starts from the order of the world to interpret the world—while the Kingdom of God starts from man and the certainty of the divine love. The thought is not that of mutually exclusive opposites, but which shall take the precedence. It results in the victory of the Logos idea, and dogma is established, and Dr. Kaftan concludes that in the light of history, “The attempt to apprehend objectively the contents of the faith involves a substantial alteration of it, and consequently is equivalent to an injury to Christianity.” Vol. I, p. 119.

We pass next to the development of theology, and we soon come upon the principle of authority which hitherto has had no influence. This principle may be regarded as “the traditional body of dogma.” The origin of authority is certainly interesting. Revelation is the supernatural source of knowledge, ecclesiastical dogma is the form of Christian truth, the truths of Revelation do not appear to faith but become *propositions* to be accepted by the intellect; belief becomes subordinate and must have large additions to make one a Christian. Revelation is a source of such propositions and thus becomes an authority for theological thought. So through many influences all working together in the early centuries there grew up that principle of authority which was to govern the succeeding development. The truth was no longer to be sought but was supplied in the historical revelation of God. Thus the fundamental problem of Mediæval Theology comes to be. How are authority and reason related to each other? Faith is the authoritatively delivered doctrine of the church. Reason is the principle which establishes truth as resting on grounds.

It is not surprising that misgivings began to appear—as in Erigena, ninth century; Berengarius, eleventh century, and finally a result in Abelard.

We pass through the various phases of scholasticism and come to the discussion of orthodox dogmatics. The Reformation comes and in a large degree settles back upon a dogma—at least the continuity is not broken.

We come then to the breaking up of ecclesiastial dogma. All is to be done away and orthodox dogmatics is to be regarded henceforth as a stage in history.

The collapse begins with Kant and ends with the failure of Biedermann.

We are now ready for the judgment of history. It is in part: “Faith in the rule of the Divine Spirit in the church, in the development of Christendom.

“That a divine revelation has taken place can never be demonstrated to

any one in the way in which a fact of sense or a conclusion of logic can be. It requires *faith*; only he who subjects himself to it in faith can arrive at a recognition of it.

"This connection with God is the point where for us men who are not God, there remains a mystery."

"We are directed to seek in history that revelation of God in which we believe as Christians, and to realize it objectively in all its parts as a revelation which is historically mediated." Vol. I, pp. 336-339.

The second volume continues on the same high level, treating extensively of knowledge, the primacy of practical reason, criticism of the traditional speculative method, the proof of Christianity.

The book is one to be read over and over, slowly and patiently to be thought through and thought out. And while our spiritual and intellectual stores are enriched from almost every page, question after question will arise with great urgency as: Do Dr. Kaftan and the Ritschlians escape the essence of the dogmatism they combat? Does the school express the essential substance of New Testament teaching? Do we get satisfactory conclusions about the resurrection? Or are such conclusions possible? Is its conception of the historic Christ adequate? Are the Ritschlians in substantial agreement among themselves?

And so as the questions pile up we begin to ask ourselves whether after all the old contention between faith and reason has been finally laid to rest. But however this may be, a very large circle of English readers will thank Dr. Kaftan for his monumental work, and Professor Flint through whose influence the translation was made.

J. W. M.

The Johannan Problem. A Résumé for English Readers. By REV. GEORGE W. GILMORE, A.M., Professor of English Biblical Exegesis and Criticism in Bangor Theological Seminary. Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Publication, 1895. 12mo., pp. 124.

"This little book is not an Introduction to the Fourth Gospel. It deals exclusively with the antiquity and authorship of that book and from an affirmative standpoint" (Preface). Its aim is to give to students who have not the time, and perhaps not the books, for a thorough study of the problem of the Fourth Gospel "the weightiest evidence, the most decisive indications." This aim the author has accomplished admirably. The book is up to date, readable and informing, but free from technicalities. For the student just beginning a thorough study of the subject it will serve as an excellent path-breaker. For the busy reader who can read but one book, and that not too large a one, it may well be that one book.

E. D. B.

The Two St. Johns of the New Testament. By JAMES STALKER, D.D., American Tract Society. Price \$1.

These two character sketches are in the form of a series of exegetical studies topically arranged. The work is notable for its exegetical and historical method. The process by which the results are achieved is so immediately evident and the results themselves so interesting that one is incited to similar methods in biblical study. The homiletical is another feature of the book. The exegetical purpose easily gives occasion for the introduction of much practical moralizing. The detailed sketch of the Apostle John is very clearly and sympathetically conceived, but one must confess that the sketch of John the Baptist, while strong, is at points quite obscure. There is enough of the picturesque and even dramatic in the career of John the Baptist to furnish material for a very vigorous treatment of his character. Nevertheless the book is an admirable piece of work, and is to be commended both for its method and results.

C. E. W.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE next volume in the *International Theological Library* is to be the *History of Christian Doctrine*, by Professor Geo. P. Fisher, of Yale University, a work to which many have looked forward since its announcement a year or two ago. It is now in the press, and will be issued soon.

THE twenty-first series of *Sermons of the International Sunday School Lessons* (1896) by the Monday Club (Boston and Chicago: Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society) appears to keep up the reputation established by its predecessors. Its contributors are men well known for their scholarship and breadth of spirit, and the various sermons will be sure to help any thinking Sunday school teacher.

PROFESSOR J. H. ALLEN has re-edited Renan's *Life of Jesus* (Boston: Roberts Bros., \$2.50) and has given what will probably be the standard English translation of that remarkable book. The world of scholars no longer takes Renan as seriously as it once did so far as criticism itself is concerned, but Professor Allen is perhaps right in calling the work the "one great literary monument" that the critical school has produced.

FORTY YEARS IN CHINA, or CHINA IN TRANSITION, by Rev. R. H. Graves. Baltimore: R. H. Woodward Co. The value of this work consists in a careful and fair statement of the forces respectively opposing and favoring progress in China. Those who wonder why Christian missions have made so slow progress during centuries in China may easily learn why from the last chapter of this book and at the same time see themselves as "others see them."

THE *Expository Times* has reached its sixth bound volume, and a rapid survey of the contents, to the details of which reference has been made in the BIBLICAL WORLD from time to time shows us how many valuable articles and book notices this useful journal contains. We congratulate the

biblical scholars of Great Britain that they have the opportunity to make known to a larger circle of intelligent clergymen and laymen through this excellently edited monthly the new light and knowledge that is being collected concerning the Bible. (568 pp. \$2.50. Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons.)

FROM A. D. F. Randolph & Co. comes the charmingly gotten up little book by Rev. S. W. Pratt, *The Life and Epistles of St. Paul*, harmonized and chronologically arranged in Scripture language. While not using the parallel column arrangement, the material is so ordered as to give a continuous account of the life of Paul, and as far as possible the circumstances which gave rise to his various epistles. In the Appendix the author has grouped further scriptural material bearing upon various points of importance in connection with Paul. Such books as this will render great assistance to accurate historical study of the New Testament.

A CHARACTERISTIC tendency of today's religious thought is seen in the earnest little book of Dr. A. T. Pierson, *The Acts of the Holy Spirit* (Fleming H. Revell Co. 142 pp. Price 75 cents). Dr. Pierson, as might be expected, presents no criticism or historical illustration of the Acts, but attempts "first to trace our Lord's unseen but actual continuance of his divine teaching and working; and, secondly, to trace the active ministry of the Holy Spirit as the abiding presence in the church." While one would be likely to question certain of the positions of the author, the book is to be recommended, not, indeed, to those kindred spirits who probably would be the most ready to read it and who need very different intellectual food, but to those close students of the New Testament who especially are in want of a devotional and even mystical treatment of the subjects to which they come too often in an unsympathetic spirit.

THE extension of Sunday School study and instruction to those who for reasons of ill-health or confining duties cannot join in the work of the regular school, is one of the latest and best movements in the line of religious activity. It is a kind of work which every Sunday School should undertake, and in which many can do real good for the cause. The organization and introduction of these Home Classes, or as it is otherwise called, the Home Department of the Sunday School, has been the especial work of Dr. W. A. Duncan, of New York, whose wisdom, enthusiasm and experience in connection with the Chautauqua movement, have made him very successful. The Congregational Sunday School and Publishing Society (Boston and Chicago) has issued a small book descriptive of this work, entitled *The Home Department of the Sunday School*, prepared by Dr. M. C. Hazard. Here we have the history of the movement, which was started fifteen years ago, its purpose and plan, its organization, methods and requisites, and a consideration of the difficulties to be met with. Pastors—every pastor—should procure this book, inwardly digest it, and then proceed to introduce the work into his own field.

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THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VII.

APRIL, 1896

NUMBER 4

LOVE of truth is an essential constituent both of right character and of true scholarship. The man who does not possess it may have many attractive qualities, and may possess much knowledge; but he is neither a good man nor a real scholar. But love of truth expresses itself in many forms, and unfortunately so unsymmetrically are most men developed that it is rare to find a character in which the love of truth attains symmetrical all-sided expression. With the man of affairs it will manifest itself in scrupulous avoidance of all misrepresentation and in punctilious fulfilment of all promises, while at the same time the scholar's laborious care in determining and stating an obscure fact in Geology, History, or Grammar may seem to him little less than pedantry. On the other hand the investigator, patiently devoting days and nights to the search for a fact of science, and satisfied with nothing less than the exact truth, may scarcely recognize the fact that the earnestness and steadfastness with which an utterly unlearned laborer endeavors to conform his life to certain high ideals is an endeavor to express moral truth in action that exhibits the love of truth in a form not to be surpassed for nobility by any achievement of scholarship.

BUT never perhaps does diversity of the forms in which devotion to truth expresses itself take on so much the appearance of real diversity of nature as when loyalty to truth already known confronts zeal for the truth still to be discovered. Yet both are but variant types of the same attitude of mind and element of character. Loyalty to truth already known is the conservative, zeal for new truth is the progressive virtue; but virtue, let it be observed, in both cases; for as surely as love of truth is itself a virtue, so sure is it that both forms of it are such. It is loyalty to the old truth that gives steadiness and steadfastness to the intellectual character of the individual and to the intellectual life of a church or community. Raised to its highest power it produces the martyr that sheds his blood rather than drop a letter from the confession of his faith. Existing in the ordinary form that belongs to times of peace it leads men to hold fast that which is good, to challenge the new opinions to show cause why they should be accepted, and saves them from drifting hither and thither with every wind of doctrine and current of opinion. Some goodly measure of it is indispensable to every man who aspires either to keep the path of truth himself or to guide the steps of others.

BUT zeal for the truth that is yet unknown—how should either the individual or the world make any progress without it?

Devoid of it what should men do but simply remain anchored to their present state of knowledge or of ignorance as the case may be? It is so obvious as to be a mere truism that every step of the wonderful course of modern science, whether in the physical, psychological, or theological realm, has been taken under the inspiration and spur of zeal for truth not yet known. It cannot indeed be claimed that this motive pure and unmixed has swayed the minds of all scientific investigators. Sordid motives of gain and fame have played no doubt a large part, but even these have been compelled to transmute themselves for the time being into a zeal for new truth in order to accomplish the wonderful results that have been reached. And who can claim that love of old truth has

never been mixed with sordid fear and love of power? And who can fail to see that zeal for new truth—either just discovered or not yet found—has had its noble martyrs too? And who can maintain that in itself love of the old truth is any nobler or purer than zeal for the new and the unknown.

WHY then do these two virtues—or rather these two forms of one virtue—so often confront one another with drawn swords?

*REASONS FOR
THIS HOSTILITY*

Today in this country men are to a greater or less extent dividing themselves into hostile camps, one with the motto, "Stand by the old truth," the other inscribing on its banner, "There's more truth yet to be learned." This is no new phenomenon. It has been so again and again; it is vain to hope that it will not be so yet once more. Yet perhaps if we could discover something of the reason for this dividing of the kingdom against itself, it might soften for us somewhat the sharpness of the conflict, and save us the spilling of blood that might be spent to better purpose.

Doubtless it is in part a matter of temperament and education and environment. The practical man, who is moved by the concrete and the objective, cannot be stirred much by zeal for a thing so intangible as truth still unknown. He pours all the passion of his devotion to truth into the defense of the known. The very suggestion that there is truth not yet known, at least in the sphere of morals and religion, is disturbing to him, and the man who makes the suggestion is to him a disturbing and dangerous element. Other men are idealists. Their imagination is quickened, their blood stirred by visions dim and glorious—the dimmer the more glorious—of truths still to be found out. The great treasures inherited from the past move them not half so much as the possibility of an addition, ever so slight, to that store. The ninety and nine things the world already knows, these seem to them of less value than the one thing it does not know.

But it must be admitted that devotion to old truth sometimes degenerates without the consciousness of the devotee into love of the old simply. And zeal for new truth is transmuted into fondness for new things, whether they be really true or

only seem so. This is but to say that the zealous lover of truth sometimes falls from grace, and becomes a partisan.

BUT if these things are true, do they not themselves suggest how the evils of this division of the kingdom of truth against itself are to be mitigated and, as far as possible, corrected. First. It is not wise to be greatly alarmed or greatly angered by those who happen to be capable of but one form of the love of truth, even though that form be the opposite of that which we possess. If we are one-sided in one direction there is need of men who are one-sided in the other, to balance us; we ought, then, rather to rejoice that our lack of symmetry is corrected somewhat by that of others. Second. As far as possible we ought to cultivate love of truth in both its forms—fidelity to the old, zealous search for the undiscovered. If there are many who by temperament and education are certain to cultivate but one form, this makes it but the more desirable that there should be as many as possible who exhibit both in well balanced symmetry. Third. Above all we ought to guard against losing the essential elements of our enthusiasm, and becoming mere partisans of the old or champions of the new. Let it be truth for which we are zealous, truth for its own sake and truth as truth, not the old for sloth's sake nor the new for curiosity's sake.

THE REV. MARCUS DODS, D.D.,

PROFESSOR OF NEW TESTAMENT EXEGESIS IN THE NEW COLLEGE,
EDINBURGH.

By REV. PROFESSOR ALEXANDER BALMAIN BRUCE,
Free Church College, Glasgow.

MARCUS DODS, the subject of this sketch, was born in 1834, at Belford, Northumberland, England. He was the youngest son of Rev. Marcus Dods, minister of the "Scotch Church," Belford, the author of a well-known able book on the Incarnation, written in connection with the controversy created by the views propounded by the famous Edward Irving, the friend of Thomas Carlyle, on the subject of our Lord's human nature, to which he applied the epithet "fallen." Marcus the younger came to Edinburgh in 1838, and as a boy was educated at the Academy, and afterward at the University, graduating in 1854. He studied Divinity in the New College there, one of the three theological colleges connected with the Free Church, the first founded and the largest, and after a four years' course was licensed in 1858. After six years of "probationer" life he was settled as the pastor of Renfield Free Church, Glasgow, in 1864, and continued to occupy the pulpit there till he was made a Professor of Theology by a vote of the Assembly in 1889.

As *preacher*, *author*, and *professor* Dr. Dods has a great name in Scotland, and occupies a position of the first rank in the esteem of the general community, irrespective of denominational divisions. During the twenty-five years he was the minister of Renfield church he was the weightiest if not the most popular preacher in the city of Glasgow. Men listened to him as they listened to few others, as one from whom they expected to get some definite, valuable instruction, and not merely a passing oratorical treat. Oratorical treats were not in his line. Though a forcible and arresting speaker he was not a "popular" preacher.

He was a wise *teacher* rather than a preacher; what he supplied was *didache* of the first order rather than *kerygma*. He was too good and weighty to be popular; hence the unusual length of his probationary period, *six years*. He preached now and then in vacant charges during those early years but without acceptance, other men utterly unknown being chosen in preference. The present writer acted as "Moderator of Session" in one of these vacant congregations. At a meeting of the congregational committee at which the merits of the "candidates" were being discussed, the name of Mr. Dods came up, he like the others having preached in the pulpit. Not a man had a word to say in his favor; one man with an air of serene confidence expressed the general feeling by the remark: "No, we should not think of him." The ground of this inappreciative judgment may be indicated by reporting a conversation which took place a quarter of a century later between two clerical friends who had together been hearing a well-known pulpit orator. After leaving the church one said to the other, "Well, what do you think of that?" The reply was, "First-rate preaching, second-rate teaching. If Dr. Dods had been the preacher handling the same text, it would have been just the other way—first-rate teaching, second-rate preaching."

To the members of his own congregation the minister of Penfield was first-rate in every sense. He was their ideal preacher and their idol, always worth listening to, and no one else worth hearing, by comparison. Yet a Renfield man would admit that "the Doctor" was sometimes better than at other times. It was remarked that he was especially good in character-studies, and the worse the character the better the sermon. One of the elders of the church once said to me: "Dods is at his best when he is discussing one of those Old Testament blackguards." In his sermons on men and women in the Bible the Renfield minister showed a wise knowledge of life and masterly insight into the springs of action, and handled his subject always with a bold realism untainted by the slightest touch of vulgarity. Such sermons would of course commend themselves very specially to seniors who had lived long in the world and seen much of men and their

ways. But Dods was not merely a preacher for the middle aged. He was also one of the few who can catch and hold the ear of young men by making them feel that he valued their ideals, understood their religious difficulties, and sympathized with them under their temptations; that in fact while his hair was getting gray, he continued in heart to be a young man himself.

During those twenty-five years of a preacher's life Dr. Dods was busily occupied with authorship. Preaching and publishing went hand and hand, the one supplying material for the other; for a large amount of what he has given to the press is homiletics of an exceptionally careful and scholarly type, enriched with many a literary allusion or quotation gleaned from an extensive area of reading. He became an author before he was ordained to the ministry, *The Prayer that Teaches to Pray*, published in 1863, showing of what admirable stuff were made the sermons of the despised probationer, and explaining how it came to pass that, when settled in a fixed pastorate in a city charge, he at once stepped into the first rank. That early book is fine at once in thought, in spirit, and in style. A series of works followed embodying the mature results of pulpit studies, including *The Epistles to the Seven Churches* (1865), *Israel's Iron Age* (1874, on the Book of Judges), and, belonging to a somewhat later period, more elaborate expositions of *Genesis* (1888), *Corinthians* (1889) and *The Gospel of John*, 2 vols. (1891-2), taking their place in the excellent series known as "The Expositor's Bible," published by the Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton. Along with these may be mentioned two small volumes, not homiletic in origin or aim: *Mohammed, Bhudda, and Christ*, three well-informed and reliable lectures, published in 1877, and an *Introduction to the New Testament*, belonging to the "Theological Educational Series," published in 1888.

For many years past Dr. Dods has done excellent work of an editorial kind in connection with *Lange's Life of Christ*, the translation of the *Works* of St. Augustine, and the series of "Handbooks for Bible Classes," published by Messrs. T. & T. Clark, Edinburgh, of which he and the Rev. Dr. Whyte of the

Free St. George's, Edinburgh, are the joint editors—a series consisting now of many volumes on biblical and theological subjects and containing not a few works of first-class merit. To this series Dr. Dods has himself contributed a handbook on *Genesis* and another on *Haggai, Zechariah and Malachi*, careful and competent work like all he has done. In translation also he has made his mark, having done into English Augustine's great work *De Civitate Dei*, Justin Martyr's *Apology*, and the *Legatio pro Christianis* of Athenagoras, with the sure hand of a well trained scholar.

It goes without saying that Dr. Dods has often been asked to give his opinion of the literary work of other men. As a reviewer he is not only competent in respect of knowledge but, what is rarer perhaps, *conscientious*. He actually reads a book through before presuming to estimate its value. This appears not only from the general character of his notices, but from the care with which a list of *errata* is supplied, in no captious spirit, but for the benefit of the author in a second edition. If he has a fault as a reviewer it is excessive generosity. He never praises an utterly worthless book, but he occasionally overpraises a good but not supremely good book. On the whole, however, his verdicts are sound and have been justified by time. Many books that he decidedly commended on their first appearance have taken their place as important contributions on the subjects of which they treat. The qualities of competent information, sound judgment, sincerity, and kindly considerate tone secured for him years ago the position of Reviewer of New Testament Literature in the *Expositor*, which he has held since the time when Dr. Nicoll became editor of that well-known and highly valued monthly.

Dr. Dods was fifty-five years of age when he became a theological professor, too late a period of life to make a great change in one's occupations. But in his case it was really no such change. He had been a student, and in a sense a professor all along; so that when he went to the New College he stepped into a position which was really not new, and addressed himself to duties with which he was already familiar. The students knew him already by his books, and they accepted him at once as a

Master. He had not been long in his chair when one of those theological panics arose of which the Free Church of Scotland has had fully more than its own share, threatening the removal from his office of the recently appointed professor, along with a fellow professor in the western college of the same denomination. It was a pretty formidable outburst of well-intended though ill-informed zeal for the truth, but the storm passed over leaving Dr. Dods in his chair and in possession of the unabated confidence of the community. The agitation was the revival of an old trouble over similar utterances of the accused during the time of his ministry in Glasgow, when a motion really aiming at his deposition was defeated in the lay Presbytery of that city only by a very small majority. The question at issue was the view to be taken of biblical inspiration, traditional views earnestly held by many at the time coming into sharp collision with modern conceptions as stated plainly by the object of assault.

To outsiders it may seem a wonder that a man who had rudely shocked the prejudices of many pious people could ever have become a theological professor at all in a church distinguished by its zeal for the faith as handed down from the fathers. Doubtless the disturbance had something to do with the *lateness* of Dr. Dod's professorial appointment, though that was mainly the result of his modesty, leading him to give way to the candidature of other men. But when one comes to consider it, the election of such a man to a chair in an earnest church is no cause for surprise. There is such a thing as hero-worship still, and a man attacked has many enthusiastic friends as well as many resolute foes. The mode of appointment to professorial functions in the church gives free scope to hero-worship. The election is by a free vote of an Assembly embracing above 700 members, clerical and lay. Such a body of men cannot easily be manipulated, and especially in connection with appointments involving personal predilections declines to be dictated to by leaders however loyally they may be followed in general questions of church policy. It was pretty well understood that the ecclesiastical mind desiderated a "safer" man, but, no matter, the rank and file were determined to have Dods, and in the final vote the

"safe" man, whoever he might be, was nowhere. To this way of choosing professors, open, free, fearless, it is probably due that the Free Church Colleges are by common consent on the whole very well manned.

What a blessing it is to a church to have its future ministers under the care of men of the Dods type: scholarly and wise, but not *worldly* wise, time serving prudential; rather unsophisticated honest men, severely, even bluntly, sincere. Such men occasionally give great trouble to ecclesiastics who have to do their best to keep the ship of the church in smooth waters. One of them said to the present writer on a certain occasion, "Dods is a dreadfully left-handed man." That was one way of looking at the matter. Another way is aptly symbolized by a sentence in an article which appeared in a leading newspaper about the same time: "Dr. Dods, for a minister, is a very sincere man;" a sentence which implies a very low opinion of the clergy generally but a very high esteem for the individual named. Such men as he serve to preserve the good name of the church in the eyes of the world. And as for the ingenuous youths who frequent our theological seminaries, such men are their delight and boast. And it is well, for beyond question it is in men like Dr. Dods that the youth of our church, who are to be its future ministers, can find the nearest approximation to what Christ was in spirit and religious attitude. To be their scholars is in effect to be in the school of Jesus. For a theological seminary to lack such men in its teaching staff is simply *death*; prophetic freedom, fire and power replaced by dry scholasticism, rabbinical pedantry, and dull commonplace.

Perhaps I ought to say before I close this paper that it would be an entire misconception of Dr. Dods' theological position to think of him as a very modern advanced man in his general views on religious questions. This is well known to readers of his books but it is worth stating for the benefit of those who have still to make his acquaintance as an author. In some respects he is a very conservative and old-fashioned theologian. He is a strong Calvinist, holds very somber views of human depravity and very stern views of the prospects of the wicked in the world

to come. He is cautious, one might think even over-cautious, especially after he has given way to an incautious impulse and used very freely the liberty of prophecy. One bold step forward is atoned for by a good many steps backward, not in craven fear but in self-distrust. As a preacher he is (or was) apt to dwell overmuch on the dark side of things. Of another Scotch preacher well known to fame it has been said that he believes with all his heart in the statement of the Psalmist "iniquities prevail against me," but not in the hopeful addendum "as for our transgressions thou shalt purge them away." The first part of the Psalmist's proposition by itself is rather a meager gospel. There are a number of men in Scotland given to preaching this dismal gospel of theological pessimism. I wonder if there are any such in America? Those we have in Scotland are as a rule able men and good, worthy of all respect; only they seem to think sin stronger than God, and to conceive the laws of the universe as conspiring mercilessly against even the penitent sinner. I would not have it supposed that my esteemed brother Dods is one of these pessimists, but I have sometimes felt (and told him so) that he leant more in that direction than I was pleased to see. I want the strong men of Christendom, every one of them, to say with all the emphasis they know how to put in their words: "Thy faith hath saved thee, go in peace."

"I say to thee, do thou repeat
To the first man thou may'st meet
In lane, highway, or open street,
That he and we and all men move
Under a canopy of love,
As broad as the blue sky above."

TWO SONNETS FROM JOB¹

Arranged by PROFESSOR R. G. MOULTON,
The University of Chicago.

I

CHASTENING AND DELIVERANCE

Behold, happy is the man whom God correcteth :
Therefore despise not thou the chastening of the Almighty.
For he maketh sore, and bindeth up ;
He woundeth, and his hands make whole.

He shall deliver thee in six troubles ;
Yea, in seven there shall no evil touch thee.

 In famine he shall redeem thee from death ;

 And in war from the power of the sword.

Thou shalt be hid from the scourge of the tongue ;

 Neither shalt thou be afraid of destruction when it cometh
At destruction and dearth thou shalt laugh :

 Neither shalt thou be afraid of the beasts of the earth.

For thou shalt be in league with the stones of the field ;

 And the beasts of the field shall be at peace with thee.

And thou shalt know that thy tent is in peace ;

 And thou shalt visit thy fold and shalt miss nothing.

Thou shalt know also that thy seed shall be great,

 And thine offspring as the grass of the earth.

Thou shalt come to thy grave in a full age,

 Like as a shock of corn cometh in in its season.

Lo this, we have searched it, so it is ;

Hear it, and know thou it for thy good.

¹ The first is a Number Sonnet ; the other a Free Sonnet with full antistrophic structure and conclusion.

II

WISDOM AND THE FEAR OF THE LORD

Surely there is a mine for silver, *strophe*
And a place for gold which they refine,
Iron is taken out of the earth,
And brass is molten out of the stone.

Man setteth an end to darkness,
And searcheth out to the furthest bound
The stones of thick darkness and of the shadow of death.
He breaketh open a shaft away from where men sojourn;
They are forgotten of the foot that passeth by;
They hang afar from men, they swing to and fro.

As for the earth, out of it cometh bread;
And underneath it is turned up as it were by fire.
The stones thereof are the place of sapphires,
And it hath dust of gold.
That path no bird of prey knoweth,
Neither hath the falcon's eye seen it:
The proud beasts have not trodden it,
Nor hath the fierce lion passed thereby.
He putteth forth his hand upon the flinty rock;
He overturneth the mountains by the roots.
He cutteth out passages among the rocks;
And his eye seeth every precious thing.
He bindeth the streams that they trickle not;
And the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light.

But where shall wisdom be found? *antistrophe*
And where is the place of understanding?
Man knoweth not the price thereof;
Neither is it found in the land of the living.
The deep saith, It is not in me:
And the sea saith, It is not with me.
It cannot be gotten for gold,
Neither shall silver be weighed for the price thereof,
It cannot be valued with the gold of Ophir,

With the precious onyx, or the sapphire.

Gold and glass cannot equal it,

Neither shall the exchange thereof be jewels of fine gold.

No mention shall be made of coral or of crystal :

Yea, the price of wisdom is above rubies.

The topaz of Ethiopia shall not equal it,

Neither shall it be valued with pure gold.

Whence then cometh wisdom ?

And where is the place of understanding ?

Seeing it is hid from the eyes of all living,

And kept close from the fowls of the air.

Destruction and Death say,

We have heard a rumor thereof with our ears.

GOD understandeth the way thereof,

And he knoweth the place thereof.

For he looketh to the ends of the earth,

And seeth under the whole heaven ;

To make a weight for the wind ;

Yea, he meteth out the waters by measure.

When he made a decree for the rain,

And a way for the lightning of the thunder :

Then did he see it and declare it ;

He established it yea, and searched it out.

And unto man he said,

BEHOLD, THE FEAR OF THE LORD, THAT IS WISDOM :

AND TO DEPART FROM EVIL IS UNDERSTANDING.

epode

—*Job 28.*

THE PROBLEM OF WELL-BEING AND SUFFERING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

I.

By the REVEREND HARLAN CREELMAN, PH.D.,
Yale University.

The teaching regarding well-being—What is meant by well-being—Condition on which well-being depends—The end of well-being—The sources of suffering—The end served by suffering—The relation of the principle of well-being and suffering to the future life.

ONE of the important questions which engaged the attention of the religious thinkers and teachers of the Jewish people was that of suffering. Besides being the prominent subject of inquiry and discussion in the so-called "Wisdom Literature"—such as Job and Ecclesiastes—and occupying an important place in the Psalter and prophetic writings, references to it are as well found throughout the rest of the Old Testament literature. Other important problems in the Old Testament, such as the Kingdom of God and the Messianic hope, are more or less connected with it. A subject, therefore, such as this, which occupies so large a place in the range and thought of the Old Testament is one which in itself deserves careful investigation and study.

But in order fully to understand or estimate this question as it is viewed and presented in the Old Testament, it needs to be considered in the light of its counterpart, namely the problem of well-being. The two subjects go together; neither can well be considered or understood apart from the other. The subject, therefore, for consideration is the problem of well-being and suffering as it is presented in the Old Testament literature.

The following classification, it is thought, gives a correct and complete survey of all the material relating to the two problems.

1. The common elements or teaching regarding the question of well-being will be considered first of all.

And in the first place the sources of well-being may be noticed.

The two general classifications will naturally include all the

material bearing upon this point, namely the *ultimate source*, and the *proximate* or *subordinate sources*. The former refers to the power of God and the various divine attributes as exercised or expressed toward mankind: that is, not only the fact of God's absoluteness, that he is more powerful than any other being, and hence is sufficiently able to promote man's well-being, but as well his moral attributes are emphasized in this connection,—his righteousness, justice, holiness, truth, faithfulness; his guidance and care: his immanence and willingness to grant help in times of difficulty; his unmerited favor and loving-kindness. All such attributes as these, to take up which in detail our space forbids, are included under this heading.

The latter, namely the *subordinate* or *proximate sources* of well-being include all human efforts or agencies which in any way help to effect this result: such as the exercise of man's natural powers in his own behalf, or the agency of men or classes for the general well-being, such as the office of judges, leaders, priests, prophets, sages and kings. As an example of the latter, *cf.* Ps. 78:70-72.

Now in general these proximate sources are represented not only as being subordinate to the divine source but also as instruments of it (*e. g.*, Ps. 77:20). And so much does the thought of the importance of the divine overshadow the human agency in this connection that sometimes human effort is treated as of little importance (*e. g.*, Ps. 44:3).

The second point to be noticed is what is meant by well-being—what it includes. The answer is that it embraces various forms of material, social and spiritual good and blessings. A good illustration of these three elements, combined in a description of what constituted an ideal condition of well-being, may be found in Ps. 144:12-15.

Now these three elements in their various phases and expressions enter into the Old Testament conception of well-being, it may be said in general, throughout all its teaching. Of course there were times when more stress was laid on one element than another. Material blessings would naturally belong more to the earlier stage of teaching, while later, when men gave more atten-

tion to the seeming inequalities of life,—when the wicked were observed to possess material and social blessings, while the righteous had suffering as their portion, we find that this had the effect, among some of the more thoughtful, of leading them to place a higher value on the spiritual content of well-being. But in general, material and social blessings were regarded as forming an essential part. Thus even in the prophetic descriptions of the ideal future, material and social good are combined in varying proportions with that of spiritual good.

The third point to be considered is the condition upon which well-being is secured or upon which it depends. The condition is *righteousness* on man's part; the fulfilment by man of what God requires of him, or the presence of that attitude and spirit in him which God desires and approves of,—in a word righteousness of act and of disposition; or to state it in still another way, outward conduct which is expressive of a true spirit within.

In reference to keeping the law as a condition of well-being, it is noteworthy that it contains ceremonial duties as well as moral requirements which apparently were regarded as coördinate. But in the Deuteronomic code a service of the heart such as love and fear of God is likewise insisted on (*e.g.*, Dt. 10:12 f.; 11:13, 22; 6:4-9; 13:3; 30:15 f. 20; Josh. 22:5; 23:11). In Samuel, the prophet declares that obedience to God is better than sacrifice (1 Sam. 15:22). A similar thought is also found in Proverbs (21:3; *cf.* 15:8; 16:6; 21:27). While in the prophetic writings formalism is repeatedly declared to be insufficient to secure the realization of well-being.

The last point to be noticed under this topic is the true end of well-being, that is, what it is designed to produce or effect.

The fundamental thought of the Old Testament teaching on this point is evidently the religious devotion or consecration of the nation to their God. This was the end or object to which the possession of the various forms of material, social, and spiritual blessings was to lead up.¹ This fact is indicated in different ways. In the Psalter, for instance, it is especially noticeable in

¹ *Cf.* The development of a benevolent or humane spirit as also an end. *E.g.*, Dt. 15:12-15; 16:12; 24:18, 22; 10:19.

the form of gratitude expressed in thanksgiving and praise to God; also in the form of testimony and witnessing to others. The following references illustrate the last point mentioned. Ps. 51:12, 13; 35:18; 71:17, 18; 40:9, 10; 102:21; 109:30; 118:17, and many others. Expressions of gratitude are also found in various other parts of the Old Testament outside of the Psalter.

The true end of well-being is more often indicated indirectly, or is derived by way of inference. Thus the expressions which are found so frequently, that Israel is to be God's people, that they are to be loyal to him; that they are to know him as Jehovah,—such statements as these and others of a similar import indicate indirectly what the true end of well-being was.¹ And the same fact is derived by way of inference in the disappointment evidenced and the reproof uttered so strongly by the prophets from time to time in the history of the nation, on account of the ingratitude of the people in being disloyal to God for all their various blessings. This clearly shows what they considered the true end of well-being ought to be,—namely, devotion to God, and a loyal service to him.

To be also noted is the fact that the well-being of one person or group may serve a further end as related to other persons. Thus the well-being of one person or class as related to other persons (*mankind*) may serve to bless, encourage, or strengthen them, *e. g.*, Ps. 40:3: "And he hath put a new song in my mouth, even praise unto our God" (*i. e.*, cause for praising God). Then the end this will serve toward others is stated: "Many shall see it, and fear, And shall trust in Jehovah." *Cf.* Ps. 35:27; 87:1 f.; 98:3; 69:32; *cf.* also the patriarchal promises (J E); Gen. 12:2 f.; 7:1; 18:18 f.; 21:22 f.; 26:4; 30:27, 30; 39:3-5; Ex. 32:13. *Cf.* Zech. 8:13;² Micah 5:7 and various others.

¹ Some of such expressions may in certain places not only have a bearing, but a more direct connection with other divisions of this subject. Thus the fact that "Israel is to be God's people" may refer to the content of well-being, or the condition by which it is to be realized. The context of the particular passages helps to determine how the expressions are to be regarded.

² Compare in this connection the prophetic descriptions of the ideal future when other nations are to share in the blessings of God's people; *e. g.* Isaiah 2:3; Micah 4:1; Jer. 3:17; Ezek. 17:22-24; Isaiah 44:5; 25:6-9; 14:1; Haggai 2:9; Zech. 14:8 f. and many others.

In the Psalter the thought is found in a few references that the well-being of the righteous being furthered may serve the end of checking or rebuking the wicked. Thus Ps. 86:17; *cf.* 13 3, 4; 35:15, 23-25; 38:15f.; 79:10; 115:2.

A few references are also found in which the thought is that the deliverance of the righteous from suffering may serve a beneficent end toward others in the way of witnessing for God to them, *e.g.*, Ps. 22:27; Isaiah 49:8.¹

Again as related to *God*, the well-being of Israel especially may serve the end of declaring his character or testifying in reference to it. Thus in Ps. 98:2, 3, "Jehovah hath made known his salvation: He hath remembered his mercy and faithfulness toward the house of Israel: All the ends of the earth have seen the salvation of our God," *i.e.*, God's character declared by his promotion of the well-being of Israel. *Cf.* Ps. 92:12-15; 102:14-22; 106:8; 48:10; 115:2; 79:10; 109:26, 27; 67:1f.; 126:1, 2; in (J E) Ex. 34:10; Num. 23:23; also Josh. 4:23, 24 (D) 1. Sam. 12:22; 2 Sam. 7:23, 26; Jer. 16:21; 32:20; Ezek. 28:25, 26; 34:27, 30; 37:13; Isa. 44:23; 60:21; 61:3; 49:3; *cf.* Isa. 49:26; 43:21; 45:15f., 21f.; 63:14, 19; 40:5; 41:20; 52:6, 10; 66:18, 19; 65:16; 42:8; 59:19. In the priestly narrative of the Hexateuch: Ex. 16:6, 12; 7:5; 14:15f.; Num. 20:13; Lev. 22:32.

A similar thought is expressed in a more striking way in those passages in which the representation is that unless the well-being of Israel is promoted in certain circumstances, even when they are sinful, God's character would be misunderstood, *e.g.*, in (J E) Ex. 32:9-14 Israel, though sinful, is to be spared, lest the Egyptians draw a false inference as to God's character: "Wherefore should the Egyptians speak, saying, For evil did he bring them forth to slay them in the mountains, and to consume them from the face of the earth? *Cf.* Num. 14:13f.; Deut. 32:26f.; Josh. 7:9; *cf.* Deut. 9:26-29; Ezek. 20:9, 14, 22, 41, 44;

¹ Compare with this a thought in Ezekiel, that certain of the wicked are to be spared from the capture of Jerusalem to show to the heathen (12:16) and to Israel in exile (14:14, 22, 23) that God in his righteousness had caused the downfall of the city on account of its wickedness.

36:1-6, 11, 21, 23, 36, 38; 39:7, 23, 25-29; Joel 2:17; Isaiah 48:9, 11.

The above classification and references include all the common teaching relating to well-being.

2. A similar outline may be followed in classifying the common elements or teaching in reference to the problem of suffering.

The *sources* of suffering may be regarded as ultimate and proximate. The *ultimate*, referring to the nature or character of God expressed in displeasure toward man; *proximate* sources of suffering including all subordinate agencies acting adversely upon man. Such are generally regarded as active agents of the divine will; but sometimes as in the case of those who persecute the innocent and so bring suffering upon them, this does not hold true.

The content of suffering includes various forms of material, social or spiritual loss.

The condition bringing suffering is sin, the violation by man of what God requires of him; the presence of a spirit or disposition displeasing to God,—in a word, unrighteousness of act or spirit.

What has been stated in reference to the condition of well-being applies as well here, namely, that in the law ceremonial violations are placed apparently on the same plane and made coördinate with breaches of moral requirements. But as formalism was declared to be insufficient as a condition of securing well-being, so the fact which had always been held became more and more insisted on,—especially in the Psalms and prophetic writings,—that moral violations and sinfulness of spirit were the fundamental causes which brought suffering.

This fact is indicated in various places in the prophetic writings in their representations of the ground of suffering which had come or was to come upon outside nations. This was always set forth as a violation of some common fundamental principle of morality or sinfulness of spirit. Cf. Amos 1:3-2:3; Micah 4:13; 5:6, 15; Isa. 10:13; 17:12, 14; 29:7, 8; 30, 27, 33; 31:8, 9; 33:1f., 10-12; 10:33, 34; 14:24f.; chaps. 15 and 16; Jer. 10:25; 12:14f.; 25:12f.; 30:16f.; 46:10f.; 50:7f. and others.

Nahum 1:2 f.; 3:1 f.; Zeph. 2:3 f.; Hab. 1:11 f.; 2:6 f.; 3:12 f.; Ezek. 16:49, 50; 21:28 f.; chaps. 25-32, 38, 39 and others. Isa. 47:1 f.; 51:21-23; 54:15, 17; 63:1 f.; 59:18 f., Isa. 24:5 f., 21 f.; 25:9-12; 26:5 f., 21; 27:1; 13:9 f.; 14:12; 34:1 f., 8; Lam. 1:22; 3:58-66, *cf.* 4:21; Zech. 1:15 f.; 2:8 f.; Zech. 9:1 f., 13 f.; 10:11 f.; Zech. 12:1 f., 9 f.; 14:3 f., 12-19; Joel 3:2 f., 19; Mal. 1:4.

The end served by suffering may now be noticed. The fundamental conception of the Old Testament is that suffering comes as punishment for sin.

But besides this, suffering may also serve as a warning or have a reformatory end in view; that is, as far as the people of Israel are concerned, it may have as one of its objects to bring those sinning against God back to a true allegiance to him. Thus Ps. 119:67, 71, "Before I was afflicted I went astray, But now I observe thy word. It is good for me that I have been afflicted; that I might learn thy statutes," *Cf.* Ps. 78:34 f.; 94:10; 41:4 f.; 38:1 f.; 83:9-18; 6:1 f.; 25:18; 40:12 f., and many other references.¹

Compare the same thought from the negative standpoint, that is, the end suffering was designed to accomplish though failing in its purpose; Ps. 78:31, 32; Amos 4:6.

The thought in the following references seems to be that the well-being of the nation will be restored after a sufficient period of suffering has been undergone; Ps. 102:13; Isa. 40:2.

Again, suffering may also serve a further end as related to others, just as was noticed in the matter of well-being.

Thus, as related to *mankind*, suffering which comes upon the wicked may serve the end of encouraging the righteous: *e. g.*, the thought in Ps. 52:4-6 f. The righteous, upon seeing the punishment of the wicked shall fear and shall laugh, saying, "This is the man who made not God his strength," etc.; *cf.* Ps. 59:11-13; 58:10; 64:7 f.; 92:11; 54:7; 5:10, 11 (R. V. marg.). Also (J E) Ex. 14:31; 10:1 f.; 18:11; Job 22:19.

Ps. 79:10, on the other hand, indicates that suffering upon

¹ There are a few references in which this reformatory purpose is mentioned as applying to other nations, *e. g.*, Isa. 19:20 (*cf.* vs. 1); Isa. 23:15 f.; Jer. 12:14-17; 46:26; 48:47; 49:6, 34-39; Zeph. 2:11; 3:8 f.

the wicked may serve the end of discouraging others of like disposition.¹

Suffering may also serve the purpose of bringing fear upon other wicked (enemy), or have a deterrent influence. Thus, in the prophetic portion of the Hexateuch (J E) Ex. 15:14-16; Josh. 2:9, 24; 10:1 f., 20, 21; Num. 22:2, 3. In Deuteronomy 11:1-7; 17:13; 19:20; 13:11; 21:21; Josh. 2:10, 11; Jer. 3:8-10; 7:12-15; *cf.* 22:8, 9; Zeph. 3:5-7; Ezek. 23:10, 48; 18:14, 17; 32:9, 10; Isa. 59:19.

A few references are found in which suffering coming upon the wicked is mentioned as serving the end of confirming Divine appointments, or the truthfulness of God's representatives. Thus, in (J E) Num. 16:29, 32; also chap. 12; *cf.* Jer. 5:10-13; Ezek. 33:33; *cf.* 29:21; 24:25-27.

Again, as related to *God*, the suffering of the wicked may serve the end of expressing God's character or witnessing to it. Thus, the thought in Ps. 83:8-18, Let Moab and the other nations have suffering "That they may know that thou alone whose name is Jehovah, Art the Most High over all the earth," *cf.* Ps. 74:22, 23; 79:10; 59:13; 58:10, 11; 64:8, 9. In (J E) Ex. 9:14-16; 8:10; 1 Sam. 17:46, 47; Jer. 16:21; 32:20 b.; Ezek. 12:15-20; 6:7, 10, 14; 7:4, 27; 11:10, 12; 13:9, 23; 15:7; 20:38; 24:24; Isa. 65:15, 16; 66:18; in P Ex. 7:5; 14:4, 17, 18.

At this point reference may also be made to the imprecatory expressions which are found in various parts of the Old Testament, but more especially in the Psalter. The most natural as well as the simplest explanation of such expressions is to consider them in reference to the fundamental principle of retribution, namely, as a demand on man's part that suffering be visited upon those who justly deserve it on account of their sin. That is, since sin was followed by suffering according to the commonly accepted theory, the next step was to hold that sin demanded suffering. Therefore let God visit the wicked with fitting punishment, since they deserve it, and thus vindicate the principle of retributive justice and his own character, *cf.* Ps. 5:10; 17:13;

¹ *Cf.* the opposite of this thought in Eccl. 8:11.

28:4, 5; 31:17, 18; 35:4-8, 26; 40:14, 15; 41:10; 55:9, 15; 56:7, 9; 58:6-9; 59:5, 11 f.; 68:1-3; 69:22-28; 70:2-3; 71:11-13; 74:10, 11, 22, 23; 79:6, 9, 10; 83:9 f.; 92:11; 94:1 f.; 104:35; 109:6-20, 29; 129:5 f.; 137:7 f.; 140:9; 141:10; 143:12; 144:6.

3. Another point connected with the subject of well-being and suffering in general is the relation of the principle of retribution to the future life. The question whether the future life is taught in the Old Testament is not included in the scope of this article, except so far as it may modify or carry forward the retributive principle to another sphere of existence. In the Psalter there are possible hints or foreshadowings of this doctrine, but no statements which clearly and positively refer the principle of retribution to a future life (*Cf.* Ps. 16:9 f.; 17:15; 73:23 f.; Ps. 49). In the well-known passage, Job 19:25 f., "I know that my Redeemer liveth," etc., there may be a reference to the future life, but this is far from certain. But as far as the subject of this article is concerned the interpretation of this section in Job does not matter since it plays no part in the subsequent discussion of that book. The only clear and unambiguous reference to the future life, to which the principle of retribution is represented as being carried forward is found in Daniel 12:2, "And many of them that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake, some to everlasting life, and some to shame and everlasting contempt."

Thus in general it may be said, that the principles of retribution are limited in the thought of the Old Testament to their exercise in the present life, this being the prominent idea, because in the Old Testament the emphasis is placed so entirely upon the present sphere of existence. Now this fact also lends additional significance to the explanation of the imprecatory expressions given above, namely, as a demand for the normal exercise of the principle of retribution in this life, since this was thought of as the only natural place for its expression.

THE SEA OF GALILEE.

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THE first sight of that little oval sheet of water deep sunk among the Galilean hills, upon whose shore nineteen hundred years ago light sprung up for a people which sat in the region and shadow of death, is hardly second in heart-moving interest to that of Jerusalem itself. Approaching it by the route commonly traveled today one comes suddenly upon the Sea of Galilee from the summit of the hill above Tiberias. The ascent of this hill from the west is gradual and easy, but it falls away abruptly in its eastern slope.

None of the adjectives commonly employed in the description of landscape fits the extraordinary scene which here greets the eye. It is neither wild nor grand nor picturesque nor dreary. It is extravagant to compare it as one writer has done with the "glowing beauty" of the Lake of Geneva. Nor on the other hand could it be thought commonplace and dull, even if it were quite divested of its sacred associations. It is entirely wanting, no doubt, in the "refinement and elegance" of the Italian lakes, and in the noble austerity of Loch Lomond; but Gennesaret has a beauty of its own nevertheless. From the point of view upon which we are standing it can be seen from end to end of its thirteen miles and the clearness of the atmosphere brings its eastern shore so near that it appears to be hardly more than two miles wide instead of six. Its surface is very still and very blue. A white ribbon of sandy beach defines its western and northern shore. Yonder the inlet of the muddy Jordan is concealed in flowery green thickets and Hermon lifts his snowy head above the foldings of the mountain range. Just below us melancholy Tiberias crouches within her shattered walls. The banks of the unfrequented eastern shore rise steeply from the water to a level table-land clothed in a soft green coloring, broken with darker



GENERAL VIEW OF THE SEA OF GALILEE.



RUINS OF TIBERIAS.

hues where the shadows of lazy clouds are slowly creeping. The lake itself and its shores, as far as the eye can reach, lie quiet, as though under the spell of an enchanter's wand. There are cultivated fields about us, but nowhere a laborer. No hum of life reaches us from the city below, no sound of bell or echo of voices. Not even a thread of smoke rises from it to stain the clear air.

Zigzagging slowly down the steep descent we ride into the forlorn little town. Tiberias is packed in between the base of the hills and the lake, surrounded once by thick walls, which are rent and yawning now with the great gaps made by an earthquake more than fifty years ago. One wonders whether even that earthquake shock awoke the drowsy city. She huddles still within her shattered fortifications as fearfully as in the days when sentinels upon her towers watched for the spears of armed men to glitter and bristle upon the hilltop, and warders swung and barred her heavy gates at sunset.

Cleanliness is as remote as possible from godliness in the Orient. Dilapidated and filthy Tiberias shares with Jerusalem and Safed the glory of being esteemed by orthodox Jews a "holy city." Its entire Jewish population reckoned by the guess, which is the most trustworthy census known in lands the Sultan rules, numbers perhaps fifteen hundred, and very many of them are in fact paupers supported by a charitable fund to which pious Israelites all over the world contribute that they may enable their brethren to devote themselves to sloth and prayer. It is "a good work" to consent to live in holy Tiberias, and to die there is an act of extraordinary merit.

We loitered a half-hour in the mean little bazaar of Tiberias surveyed the while by a throng of townspeople which may have been made up, for aught we knew, of saints, surrendered to the higher life of devout contemplation. One would not wittingly do them an injustice, but there was a malignant gleam in the eyes of some of these devout and dirty old men which justified the doubt whether they were accustomed to include Christians in the supplications and intercessions which it is the serious occupation of their lives to offer. Mounting the horses

again we clattered out of the narrow mud-walled streets leaving unvisited the ruined castle, the decaying mosque, the Latin convent with its one remaining monk, even the Protestant Mission establishment just outside the walls, in haste for the refreshment of the camp whose white tents were already rising up on the shore of the lake to the south. What guidebook sight-seeing could rival the claim of this lonely, charmed shore at sunset, with tiny waves lapping and rustling on the white sand, and the delicate green of the eastern heights opposite changing in the evening light into exquisite tints of rose and pearl?

We came out at the breakfast call the next morning to find a sailboat drawn up upon the beach near the camp and a party of wild-eyed, turbaned men, wrapped in shapeless woolen cloaks to protect them from the driving storm, squabbling with the steward over the sale of a bucket of fish. Did such clamor rend the air when those other fishermen of Galilee whose names are household words offered the spoils of their nets in the market place of Bethsaida in Capernaum? The lake was still gray and forbidding seen through streets of rain when a half-hour later our bare-legged rowers pushed us off; but it was not long before the clouds broke, the sun shone out and the sail was raised. With a northward course and hugging the shore we came in an hour or two to a tiny inlet. Here the short voyage ends. We are landing at Tell Hum, the traditional site of Capernaum.

One sees at Tell Hum what he can, not what he would, namely, a wide, open field with hills rising about it thickly overgrown with thistles and rank weeds. Scattered everywhere over this field, and almost hidden from view by the growth of vegetation are the fragments of ancient buildings, some of limestone or marble, weatherworn and gray, the larger number of black basalt. Upon one here and there is faintly discernible traces of decorative carving. Without exception these stones are insignificant in size, and half seen among the tall weeds they tell nothing of the shape or dimensions of the buildings of which they once formed a part. The ruins of the synagogue of which so much has been written were pointed out. Otherwise they would hardly have attracted attention. Laurence Oliphant visiting this spot five

years earlier wrote to a New York newspaper, "It is a matter of surprise to me that neither the Greek nor the Roman Catholic Church in their zeal to discover holy places have yet thought of occupying this one." Unhappily that neglect has been repaired. A misdirected zeal, whether for religion or for reverence, after having built its church at Cana, has invaded the solitude of Tell Hum. We saw with regret that the field of ruins was inclosed

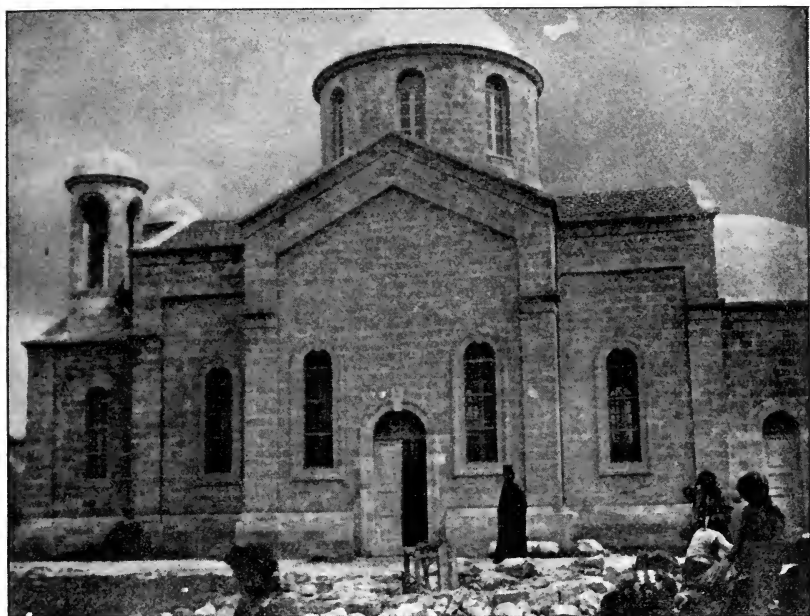


TELL HUM.

with a substantial wall, and that stonecutters and masons were busy in the building of a church. Already no doubt the gaudy altar has been set up, the candles lighted, the masses said, and pilgrims' pence are enriching the treasury.

This is Tell Hum as we saw it. Nothing could well have been more disappointing. The hardest-headed man in the company breathed his sigh over another illusion faded into air. We plodded about among the weeds and stones goading the reluctant imagination to reconstruct the vanished city. Futile endeavor! The

past would not return at the summons of this spectacle of desolation. How is it possible that a proud and populous city could have been swept away so completely? Might time have spared us but an archway, a column, a bit of pavement, how grateful would have been the gift! "And thou Capernaum, shalt thou be exalted unto heaven? Thou shalt be brought down to Hades!"



PILGRIMS' CHURCH AT CANA.

But is Tell Hum in fact the site of ancient Capernaum? Its pretensions are disputed, as everyone knows by the fertile and well-watered plain of Gennesaret, stretching three miles along the shore, and running back inland a mile or more to the base of the receding mountains. Gennesaret does not rest its claim upon its ruins, though it has a series of low mounds to show, which are plainly artificial, but chiefly upon its extent and its situation. The spade of the explorer thrust into these mounds, will settle perhaps one day a controversy in which, if a layman's

opinion may be ventured, neither party gains as yet a decided advantage. Gennesaret is cultivated, but it can hardly be said to be inhabited, saving the presence of the wretched little village of Medgel. What strange spell of loneliness and of silence has fallen upon these shores? At the edge of the plain and not far from the lake a copious spring, called Ain et Tin, the



THE CAMP ON THE SHORE OF GALILEE.

Fountain of the Fig Tree, gushes forth, and a little north of it are the ruins of the Khan Minyeh, built for the convenience of travelers seven hundred years ago.

To Khan Minyeh the camp had followed us, and there the little voyage ended, and we unladed a fragrant freight of branches of pink flowering oleander gathered in the thickets through which the Jordan flows into the lake, recalling with lively pleasure the opening stanzas of Keble's "Third Sunday in Advent:"

“ What went ye out to see
O'er the rude, sandy lea,
Where stately Jordan flows by many a palm,
Or where Gennesaret's wave
Delights the flowers to lave,
That o'er her western slope breathe airs of balm.

All through the summer night,
Those blossoms red and bright,
Spread their soft breasts, unheeding to the breeze,
Like hermits watching still
Around the sacred hill,
Where erst our Saviour watched upon his knees.



THE PLAIN OF GENNESARET.

The plain of Gennesaret is terminated on the north by a bold, rocky headland, projecting into the lake and showing traces of the conduit by which once water was conveyed across the height. From this vantage point one could look down the lake almost to its outlet, and read of the Galilean ministry with the scenes in which it was transacted spread out before the eye. Somewhere upon these curving shores below was the city in which the mother of Jesus and his brothers and sisters leaving Nazareth came to

dwelt, and the house about whose door multitudes thronged as the Sabbath was drawing to its close waiting for the coming forth of the Prophet whose touch, whose word (2d verse) had power to heal, and the synagogue where he taught. This beach was his familiar walk and over these waters he sailed to that mysterious eastern shore where the hungry multitudes were fed, and where, when night had fallen, he went apart alone to pray. Setting aside disputes about this locality and that here was a frame in which the gospel pictures took on a new and livelier meaning, here was a "fifth gospel" which one read devoutly, his heart overflowing with quiet joy. It is a memory which cannot fade when the pages read that day are opened; now one sees very clearly printed upon them the picture of the shining blue oval of the little land-locked sea and the soft rounded blue hills which shut it in.

The day had begun with a storm, quickly followed by clearing weather. In the late afternoon clouds gathered again and little showers came creeping over the shoulder of the hill to break in gentle dashes of warm rain. Down the lake they swept darkening the surface of the water and closely pursued by sunshine to vanish in the clear blue of the eastern horizon. As the sun sunk lower a blacker and more threatening cloud loomed up, driving the watcher in his height to the shelter of a rock. When it had spent its brief fury and rolled on, against its dark background a brilliant rainbow suddenly shone out and lingered long, and faded only with the setting of the sun. What emblem could be more fitting of the radiant charm which for the Christian believer must always invest these lonely and silent shores!

OUTLINE TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY.

IV.

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PROPHECY BEFORE THE CONQUEST OF CANAAN.

I. LITERARY SOURCES.

1. Contemporaneous Hebrew Sources.¹

- 1) The song of Lamech, Gen. 4: 23, 24.²
- 2) The blessing of Noah, Gen. 9: 25-27.³
- 3) The blessing of Jacob, Gen. 49: 1-27.⁴
- 4) The song of the Exodus, Ex. 15: 1-19.⁵
- 5) The original words of the decalogue, Ex. 20: 1-17.⁶

¹ In the case of nearly all the material here cited, there is evidence of modification and addition by later hands. For the discussion of the literary form, students are referred to the commentaries, especially, Kalisch, Dillmann; and to works on Hexateuchal criticism, Wellhausen, *Prolegomena: Komposition des Hexateuchs*; Green, *Moses and the Prophets*; The Higher Criticism of the Pentateuch; The Unity of the Book of Genesis; Kuenen, *The Hexateuch*; Bissell, *The Pentateuch*; Driver, *Introduction*²; Holzinger, *Einl. in den Hexateuch*; Briggs, *Higher Criticism of the Hexateuch*.

² Hamann, *Werke*, II., 390; Herder, *Vom Geist der Ebräischen Poesie*, I.; Caunter, *The Poetry of the Pent.*, I., 81; Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, 132 ff.; Lenormant, *The Beginnings of History*, 191-5.

³ Budde, *Die biblische Urgeschichte*, 506 ff.; Schultz, *O. T. Theol.*, II, 346 f.

⁴ Justi, *Nationalgesänge der Heb.*, II., 1-94; Renan, *Hist. Génér. des Langues Sémitiques*, 111 ff.; Diestel, *Segen Jacobs*; Meier, *Geschichte der Poet. Nationalliter.*, 109 ff.; Land, *Disp. de Carm. Jacobi*; Kohler, *Segen Jacobs*; Obbard, *The Prophecy of Jacob*; Zimmermann, *Der Jakobssegen und der Tierkreis*, ZA, VII., 161-72.; Schultz, *O. T. Theol.*, II, 335-41.

⁵ Koester, *St Kr.* 1831, I.; Justi, *Nationalgesänge*, I.; Reuss, *Geschichte*, 201; Kirtel, *History of the Hebrews*, I., 206 f.

⁶ Göthe, *Was stund auf den Tafeln des Bundes*, in *Zwei wichtige bisher unerörterte Fragen*; Sonntag, *Ueber die Eintheilung des Decalogs*; Zullig, *Ueber die Eintheilung des Decalogs*; Geffken, *Ueber den verschiedene Eintheilung des Decalogs*; Bertheau, *Die sieben Gruppen mos. Gesetze*; Meier, *Ueber den Decalog*; Otto, *Decalogische Untersuchungen*; Schutz, *Moses und die Zehnwort Gesetz des Pent.*; Datema, *De Decalog*; Lemme, *Die religionsgeschichtliche Bedeutung des Decalogs*; Dale, *On the Ten Commandments*; Meissner, *Der Decalog*.

- 6) The book of the Covenant, Ex. 21-23.¹
- 7) The speeches of Balaam, Num. 23-24.²
- 8) The blessing of Moses, Dt. 33.³
- 9) The song of Deborah, Judg. 5.⁴
- 10) Jotham's fable, Judg. 9: 7-15.⁵

2. Later Hebrew Traditions.⁶

- 1) The traditions in P, J and E.
- 2) The traditions in D.
- 3) The traditions in Judges.
- 4) The traditions in the Book of the Wars of Jehovah (Num. 21: 14).
- 5) The traditions in the Book of the Just (Josh. 10: 12).

3. Egyptian Sources.

Ebers, *Aegypten und die Bucher Mosis*; Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*; Tomkins, *The Life and Times of Joseph*; Robinson, *The Pharaoh of the Exodus*, Kellogg, *Abraham, Joseph and Moses in Egypt*; Sayce, *The Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*; RP, series 1 and 2; Ebers, *Durch Gosen zum Sinai*; Naville, *Pithom*; *Egyptology and the Bible*, essay in Schaff, *Through Bible Lands*; Toy, *Israel in Egypt*, *New World*, March 1893; Kellogg, *Egypticity of the Pent.*, *Pres. and Ref. Rev.* I., No. 4; Ebers, *Joseph*, in *Smith Bib. Dict.*²; Cook, *Exodus*, in *Bible Commentary*; Poole and W. R. Smith, *Contem. Rev.*, Sept. and Oct. 1887; Jastrow, *JBL*, XI., No. 1, 1892; Zimmern, *Journ. of Christian Lit.*, Feb. 1892. Trumbull, *Kadesh Barnea*; Naville, *Exodus*, in *Smith Bib. Dict.*

¹ W. R. Smith, *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, 336-42; Naumann, *ZKWL*, IX., 551-71; Jülicher, *JPTb*, VIII., 79-127, 272-315; Rothstein, *Das Bundesbuch und die religionsgeschichtliche Entwicklung Israels*; Baentsch, *Das Bundesbuch*; Driver, *Introduction*,² 33 f.; Briggs, *O. T. Stud.*, June 1883.

² Tholuck, *Vermischte Schriften*, I.; Hengstenberg, *Die Geschichte Bileams*; Reinke, *Beiträge*, IV.; Meier, *Geschichte der poet. Nationalliter.*, 352; Orelli, *O. T. Proph.*, 134-47. Cox, *Exp.*, V., 1833, 1-121, 120-44, 199-210, 245-58, 341-52, 410-25.

³ Hoffmann, *Comm. phil. Crit. in Mosis benedictionem*; Graf, *Der Segen Mosis erklärt*; Bodenheimer, *Der Segen Mosis*; Volck, *Der Segen Mosis*; Stade, *Geschichte I*, 150-72; Driver, *Deuteronomy*, 385-417.

⁴ Hollmann, *Commentarius philologico-criticus in Carmen Deborah*; Böttcher, *Das Deborahlied als Bühnendichtung*; Réville, *Nouvelle Revue*, II.; Robbins, *Bib. Sac.*, 1855, 597-642; Meier, *Uebersetzung und Erklärung des Debora-Liedes*; Hilliger, *Das Debora-Lied übersetzt und erklärt*; Müller, *Königsberger Studien*, 1887; Davidson, *Exp.*, Jan. 1887, 38-55; Driver, *JQR*, 1889, 269; Vernes, *Le cantique de Débora*, *RÉJ*, XXIV., 1892, 52-67, 225-55; Cooke, *The History and Song of Deborah*; Niebuhr, *Versuch einer Reconstellation des Deborahliedes*; Moore, *Judges*, 127-73.

⁵ Winckler, *Altorientalische Forschungen*, 59 ff.; Smend, *Alttestamentliche Religionsgeschichte*, 66, n.; Moore, *Judges*, 244-50.

⁶ The references already given cover these subjects.

4. Interpretation of this Material.

- 1) Upon the supposition that it is an exactly literal account, contemporaneous with the events described, or the words uttered.¹
- 2) Upon the supposition that it is largely invention, the words being placed in the mouths of the speakers by a later writer, whose representations belong to his own time, rather than to those of the age of the speaker.²
- 3) Upon the supposition that the essential substance of the material, including utterances, comes from the date specified, the literary form belonging to a later period.

2. LIVING PROPHECY.³

1. Abraham.⁴
2. Isaac and Jacob.⁵
3. Joseph.⁶
4. The residence in Egypt.⁷
5. The exodus from Egypt.⁷
6. The giving of the law.⁷
7. The wandering in the wilderness.⁷
8. Moses.⁸
9. Joshua.
10. The conquest of Canaan.⁹
11. The anarchy in the time of the Judges.

¹ So scholars of the old school, *e. g.*, Hengstenberg, Green.

² So scholars of the Grafian school, *e.g.* Wellhausen, Kuenen.

³ In general, *cf.* Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, I. and II.; Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, I. and II.; Renan, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, I.; Reuss, *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften*; Stade, *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*, I.; Kittel, *History of the Hebrews*, I.; Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*; Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, I.; Hanna and Norris, *The Patriarchs*; Wilberforce, *Heroes of Heb. History*; Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations*, I. and II.; Baring Gould, *Legends of O. T. Characters*; Geikie, *O. T. Characters*; and Introductions, Comms., and Bible Dicts. *in loc.*

⁴ Allen, *Abraham, his Life, Times, and Travels*; Deane, *Abraham, his Life and Times*; Dykes, *Abraham, the Friend of God*.

⁵ Dods, *Isaac, Jacob, and Joseph*.

⁶ *Cf.* *Bib. World*, Jan. 1896, p. 40, note 1.

⁷ *Cf.* references already given, also Schmidt, *Hebraica*, XI, 1 and 2.

⁸ Lowrie, *The Hebrew Lawgiver*, 2 vols.; Rawlinson, *Moses, his Life and Times*. Schmidt, *Bib. World*, Jan. 1896, 31-38, Feb., 105-19.

⁹ *Cf.* especially Moore, *Judges*.

3. EXPERIENCE PROPHECY.

1. The early stories.¹

- 1) The creation.
- 2) The trial and disobedience of man.
- 3) The beginnings of civilization.
- 4) The sons of God, and the daughters of men.
- 5) The deluge.
- 6) The confusion of tongues.
- 7) The dispersion of the nations.

2. The early institutions.

- 1) The Sabbath.²
- 2) Marriage.³
- 3) Sacrifice.⁴
- 4) Circumcision.⁵
- 5) Feasts.⁶
- 6) The Tabernacle.⁷

3. Songs and sermons of the past.⁸

- 1) The Song of Lamech.

¹ Harper, *Early Stories of Genesis*, *Bib. World*, Jan.-Dec., 1894; Lenormant, *Beginnings of Hist.*; Kalisch, Dillmann, and other Comms., *in loc.*

² *The Sabbath, Patriarchal, Mosaic, Christian* (*Exeter Hall Lectures*); Kampf, *Ueber die Bedeutung des Wort Sabbath im Pent.*, *Monatschr. f. Gesch. und Wiss. des Judenthums.*, 1862, 144; Murphy, *Bib. Sac.*, 1872, 74 ff.; Schrader, *Y P Th*, 1875; Love, *Bib. Sac.*, 1879-81; Lotz, *Quaestiones de Hist. Sabbati*; Nichols, *Origin of Heb. Sabbath*, *O. T. Stud.*, Jan., Apr., 1891; Budde, *On J. E.*, *ZAW*, XI; Andrews, *History of the Sabbath*; Bacon, *The Sabbath Question*.

³ Selden, *Uxor Ebraica*; Frankel, *Grundlinien des mosaisch-talmudischen Ehe-rechts*; Loew, *Eherechtliche Studien*, in *Ben Chananja*, III.-V; Lichtschein, *Die Ehe nach talmudischer Auffassung*; Mielziner, *The Jewish Law of Marriage and Divorce*; Kalisch, *Leviticus*; Comms. on Gen. 2: 24.

⁴ Collins and Cave, *Leviticus* (*Pulpit Comm.*); Conway, *Nineteenth Century*, May 1880; Kalisch, *Leviticus*; Fairbairn, *Typology*; Park, *Divine Inst. of Sac.*, *Bib. Sac.* Jan. 1876; Cave, *Scriptural Doctrine of Sacrifice*; Oehler, *O. T. Theol.*, 261-320; W. R. Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*; Lectures VI.-XI.; Green, *Heb. Feasts*; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, chap. 2; Leighton, *The Jewish Altar*; Nordell, *O. T. Stud.* VIII., 257 ff.; Schultz, *O. T. Theol.*, II.

⁵ Kalisch, *Genesis*; W. R. Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*.

⁶ Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*; Green, *The Hebrew Feasts*; Bachmann, *Die Fest-gesetze des Pent.*

⁷ W. R. Smith, *The O. T. in the Jewish Church*, 232-4; Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*; Green, *Moses and the Prophets*; Bissell, *The Pentateuch*.

⁸ Cf. references already given.

- 2) The Song of the Exodus.
- 3) The Speeches of Balaam (in part).
- 4) The Song of Deborah.

4. DESCRIPTIVE PROPHECY.¹

1. The Story of the Exodus (?)
2. The Decalogue.
3. The Book of the Covenant.
4. The Sermons of Moses in Deuteronomy.
5. Jotham's fable.
6. Divine Messages to the Patriarchs, to Moses and Joshua, not predictive.
7. Divine Messages in the Times of the Judges.

5. PREDICTIVE PROPHECY.²

1. The endowment and destiny of man, Gen. 1: 26, 27.
2. The conflict of mankind with sin, Gen. 3: 14, 15.
3. The future relations of Shem, Ham and Japheth, Gen. 9: 26, 27.
4. Patriarchal Blessings :
 - 1) Of Abraham, Gen. 12: 1-3 ; 13: 14-18 ; 15: 1-8.
 - 2) Of Isaac, Gen. 27: 27-29.
 - 3) Of Jacob, Gen. 49: 8-12
5. Intimations of Israel's future :
 - 1) Given an inheritance, Dt. 32: 6-10.
 - 2) To be a priestly nation, Ex. 19: 3-6.
 - 3) To be a royal nation, Num. 24: 17-19.
6. Provision made for future efficiency:
 - 1) Through a priestly order, Num. 25: 12, 13.
 - 2) Through a prophetic order, Dt. 18: 16-19.
 - 3) Through a royal order, Dt. 17: 14-20.

6. THE PROPHET AND HIS WORK DURING THIS PERIOD,

as gathered from

1. The lives of men who did prophetic work, *e. g.*, Abraham, Moses.
2. The references to dreams (in the case of Jacob, Joseph, Pharaoh, etc.), vision (in the case of Abraham, Balaam, etc.), face to face communication (in the case of Moses), direct conversation.
3. The references to the utterances of the prophets, in the case of Moses and others.

¹ Cf. references already given.

² Schultz, *O. T. Theol.*, I; Kirkpatrick, *Doctrine of the Prophets*; Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*; Delitzsch, *Messianic Prophecy*; Elliott, *O. T. Prophecy*; and Comms. *in loc.*

4. The example of Moses as a statesman.
5. The ministerial work of Moses as an organizer and preacher.
7. **SUMMARIES OF THE PERIOD;**¹

1. Ideas concerning "Right living and Worship."

- 1) The standard of living is not high, deception being practiced without direct rebuke, by those nearest Jehovah. Cruelty, treachery, torture of enemies, destruction of women and children, lax morality were not condemned by public opinion. The strong man rules. But prophetism points out a life worthy of Jehovah, straight, pure, elevated, self-sacrificing, and formulates the "moral law" including the thought of intent or purpose, as well as of action.
- 2) Worship consisted largely in sacrifice, which might be offered in any place, by any person. The central sanctuary, the tabernacle, even after its establishment, is neglected. Prophetism is in entire harmony with the simple worship of the times; it has, indeed, not yet made a distinction between formal and informal worship, since everything is still informal.

2. Ideas concerning "God," "Supernatural beings."

The God of this period is "Jehovah," regarded by the masses as the God of Israel, just as Baal was the God of the Canaanites. This was monolatry, not monotheism. Prophetism presents the "Covenant God," who would keep his promises and deliver them; the "God of justice" who demands right living; these were the Mosaic ideas, which now began to influence the popular mind. The people and perhaps the most of their leaders still believe in the existence of other supernatural beings.

3. Ideas concerning "Man," "Sin" and "Death."

Man is above the animal world, its master, especially created by God. Man's heart is wicked; he is always doing evil; but God is above all, controlling all. Sin is

¹ The statements here given are understood to be the briefest possible sketch. Full statements will be found in the more important works, cited above on Prophecy, and on O. T. Theology.

everywhere, and is always punished. Death comes because of sin.

4. Ideas concerning "Deliverance."

Man, in the midst of sorrow and sin, looks for deliverance, Man thus expecting, and God promising, how far has the thought of "deliverance" worked itself out? (1) In the conflict of man with sin, man will ultimately gain the victory; this is coming through Noah, Shem, Abraham, Isaac. Jacob, Judah; it is to be achieved in the land of Canaan, and through a chosen nation. (2) This nation shall be royal, priestly and prophetic, and the work will be accomplished through certain established means, viz., an order of kings, an order of prophets, an order of priests.

Aids to Bible Readers.

THE LETTERS OF PETER AND JUDE.

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OF the two letters which bear the name of the Apostle Peter, the first one presents us with a situation which has come to be, through the suggestive investigations of Professor Ramsay, of Scotland, a most interesting and important one. From general references in the epistle, there seems to be little doubt that its readers were Gentile Christians (1:14, 18; 2:10; 4:3f; *cf* also 3:6), and from the way in which they are spoken of in the address, they would seem to be resident in communities in Asia Minor, where there was a certain Jewish Dispersion-element, so that they could be addressed by the familiar Hebrew term of "sojourners" of the Dispersion, the spiritual meaning of which term would be made evident by calling them "elect." In other words, the letter was doubtless sent to composite churches, the prevailing element in which were Gentile Christians—for whom specially the letter was intended and to which it was specially addressed—the apostle calling them "elect sojourners of the Dispersion," because of their spiritual adoption into the true Israel, this being the way in which he would naturally speak of his fellow countrymen outside of Palestine. At all events, this seems to be the view which brings the fewest difficulties in its trail. Now, these being the readers addressed in the epistle, it becomes quite interesting to ask ourselves how Peter became acquainted with them? What missionary activity of his was it that brought him into these less populated provinces of Asia—especially these far-away northern ones of Pontus and Bithynia? It may not be so easy, perhaps, to answer this question definitely, but it is quite possible that after his departure from Jerusalem at the time of his miraculous release from prison (Acts 12:17), he gave himself for prudent reasons, to mission work in places somewhat removed from Judea, and yet not so far removed, but he could appear again in Jerusalem, when there was need of his presence—as at the council

meeting of Acts 15, which must have occurred not many years after his leaving the city (44 A.D.—51 A.D.). If the Mark mentioned in the epistle (5 : 13) is identical with the John Mark of Jerusalem, to whose home Peter repaired upon that eventful night (Acts 12 : 12), there might be in this some confirmation of the suggestion that it was to this Asia Minor work that he repaired after this experience. We could at least understand how Mark, after his parting with Barnabas and Saul soon afterwards might have joined Peter in this mission work and served with him in it during the eight years intervening between Paul's first and second journeys (45 A.D.—53 A.D.), and in fact afterwards again, and so have become acquainted with the people sufficiently to have his greetings sent them in the letter.

The epistle is prevailingly hortatory in its character, and seems to direct itself largely toward the persecutions which the readers were suffering under the civil power and the need of an orderly and vitalized Christian life, which because of these persecutions was all the more urgently before them. It is a letter full of encouragement and cheer ; indeed, if Peter has earned for himself the title of the Apostle of Hope, it comes from what he shows here in this epistle of the hopeful spirit he is striving to communicate to the people of his mission field. His object seems to be to present before them the facts upon which they can rest themselves in their present trials and, at the same time, to strengthen and build them up into that Christian life and character that will least open them to assault and will most help them to endure it should it be made.

But probably the most interesting questions are those of the possible place and time of the epistle's composition. The only hint which the letter gives of the place from which it was sent on its helpful journey, is one of the salutations at its close, "He that is in Babylon, elect together with you, saluteth you" (5 : 13). The question has been whether this is intended geographically of the actual Babylon—the historic capital of Babylonia, or, figuratively, of the great center of the Roman empire which is supposed to be presented under that name in the Apocalypse. The answer of this question depends not a little upon the date assigned the epistle. If the letter was written very early, it is almost impossible that Rome was meant ; if very late, it is quite possible it was ; since it was only at the close of the apostolic age, when this great city became the center of imperial persecution, that it was spoken of this way. But whether the book is to be placed early or late is just the puzzling point. Extreme dates in either

direction are most doubtful, for, in either case, troublesome queries arise which are not easily settled. Should the composition be placed, as some would have it, about 50 A.D., before Paul's work in Asia Minor was fairly established, we must satisfy ourselves how it was possible for Paul to have followed so largely in Peter's tracks, if he was honest in what he said about building on another man's foundation.¹ We must also be able to say how it was possible for this letter to show the acquaintance it does in constructive style and phraseological diction with Paul's epistles, especially such late ones as Romans and Ephesians, and more also we must explain how the author could, with such apparent plainness refer to a stage of persecution which, at that date, had not historically begun.² On the other hand, if a very late composition is assumed—about 100 A.D.—as some maintain, while it might seem to clear up the relations of the author to Paul and the author's letter to Paul's epistles, it compels us to adjust it again to the historical development of the persecutions against the church; for it is very clear that the author writes at an advanced stage of the persecution and yet not so advanced as to have made the outlook for the Christians hopeless (3:13; 2:14). It is also clear that, while Christians were now persecuted for the Name (4:14, 16), they were not wholly beyond the stage where they had been arraigned for evil-doing (2:12, 19 f.; 3:15 ff.; 4:15, 17 f.). Indeed, the urgency of the epistle seems to be just at this point of placing the readers clear of the civil power by establishing them in a blameless and unarraignable Christian life. In view of these difficulties, it seems as though the safest critical way would be to place the letter's writing somewhere between these two extremes—late enough to make the author a follower after Paul rather than a pioneer within his fields of work and a writer who had had a chance to come under the influence of his epistles rather than to be the one to suggest to them their traits of word and style—and at the same time, to date the letter early enough to place its writing in the persecutions where the name alone had not wholly come to be the offense, but had coupled with it still the old

¹At the same time it is interesting to notice how very much outside of Paul's Asia Minor field this work of Peter's lay, how, in fact, these provinces of Peter's seem to gather along the line of the great pilgrim route between Byzantium and Jerusalem, which Paul seems to have avoided.

²Prof. Ramsay has brought out into clear light the development in the persecutions against the Christians, from arrests on the basis of charges of crime to arrests on the basis of bearing the Christian name. The latter stage had not begun at this early date of 50 A.D.—in fact not even the first stage could then be said to be in existence.

idea of accusation for actual crime. It would seem, therefore, as though the letter might not uncritically be placed, either at the close of Nero's reign (68 A.D.), when his persecuting course toward the Christians may have developed sufficiently to bring about an arraignment of Christians on account of their name, or within the reign of Vespasian (69-79 A.D.), who confirmed the Neronian principle of action against the Christians and under which confirmation there may have begun the development which brought about this arraignment for the name.

If this rather general limit can be accepted as the time of the letter's writing, then it is more than likely that the place from which it was written was Rome, and that the author spoke of this city under its symbolic name of Babylon, not simply in memory of what it had been, but in conviction of what it was likely yet to be as the persecuting adversary of the church.

These results are in no way against a Petrine authorship.¹ The region of country missionized and the people addressed in the epistle; the Jewish cast of the writing and the hopeful character of its contents—to say nothing of their agreement with Peter's personal experiences of life; the author's relations to Paul in his thought and style of composition; the Roman place of writing and the time when the writing was done—are all of them consistent with the claim which the epistle makes for itself—that it is a letter of the Apostle Peter and this result is confirmed most strongly by the external evidence which carries the existence of the book back to Polycarp and Clement of Rome and confirms it abundantly all the way along.

2 Peter presents us with a somewhat different situation. It bears the name of the same author as 1 Peter, though it is given us in its Hebrew form, Simon Peter (1: 1). It also places before us, evidently, the same readers as 1 Peter (3: 1). They are at least Gentile Christians, as appears from the distinction which the author makes in the greeting between them on the one side, and himself and his fellow Jewish Christians on the other, though one must admit that the letter, especially in the second chapter, is more Jewish in its tone than 1 Peter. Its motive, however, seems to be not so much the encouragement of those who were under persecution from the civil power, as

¹ If the letter be assigned to Nero's reign, the tradition of Peter's death in 68 A.D., might still be true; if placed in Vespasian's reign, refuge might be taken in the critical conviction that this tradition has been found not to be as strong as it was supposed to be; that a much later date is quite possible.

the warning of those who were in danger of being influenced by immoral teachings and impious scoffings, as is evident from chapters 2 and 3. It gives no hint of any sort as to the place from which it was written, though there is nothing in the letter itself to prevent its having been the same place as that from which 1 Peter was sent. But the time of its composition confronts us with a problem of some confusion. As following the first epistle, it would seem as though it should be placed after 70 A.D., and yet, in this case, it would seem hard to understand how the apostle refrained from citing the destruction of Jerusalem, as one of the evidences which he gives in chapter 2 of the righteous judgments of God, and also difficult to understand how the scoffers of chapter 3 fail to call attention to the fact that this great catastrophe had come without bringing with it the personal advent of Christ, as they might claim was promised in the prophecies of Matt. 24 and Mark 13.

The question of date is thus a confusing one and yet were this the only difficulty which the epistle presented it would be by no means an impossible thing to arrive at some conclusion which would be in harmony with the claim of authorship which it so distinctly makes and in regard to which the points so far stated shows nothing inconsistent.¹ There are, however, some more serious objections advanced against a Petrine source for our epistle. There is the fact, which cannot be gainsaid, that of all the New Testament books this is the last one to be received by the church, and when so received to be received with qualifications. There is also the fact that this epistle shows quite decided differences from 1 Peter, not simply in word and phrase, but in general character of style and thought; while over against this there is the presence of somewhat remarkable resemblances between the epistle and writings of the post-apostolic age, notably Josephus, *Antiquities*. Added to this is the fact that the author makes allusion to Paul and his epistles in such a way as would seem to permit the inference that he considered this apostle's letters on an equality with Old Testament Scriptures. These points are insisted upon quite vigorously by many critics and, if proved to the full extent of their insistence, would make impossible the acceptance

¹ In case 1 Peter is assigned to the closing years of Nero's reign we might understand 2 Peter as following closely enough upon it to itself have been written before the first year of Vespasian's reign had closed, and so before 70 A.D. There would be nothing against this in the fact that the scoffers of chapter 3 disclaimed against the delay of Christ's coming. That was a subject of trouble as early as the Thessalonian epistles, and the character of the errorists of chapter 2 is undefined enough to place a reference to them as early at least as the reference to those of 2 Timothy.

of our epistle as of apostolic origin. The question, however, is as to just how far they can be critically urged.

Now in answering this question there are certain things we must remember. It is quite true that 2 Peter is not definitely accepted as canonical until the fourth century, but it would not be true to say there is no trace of its existence in the church before that day. A series of writers going back from Clement of Alexandria to Clement of Rome show a literary connection with the epistle that would be very difficult to prove was one of borrowing by 2 Peter. It is true that its acceptance in the fourth century is a qualified one, but it is not a little significant that this qualification first appears in the school of Alexandria, and that, if we can trust Jerome, the reason why qualification was ever expressed was because of the striking difference in style between the second letter and the first. The Alexandrian school was the home of internal criticism in the early church. The kind of criticism was first applied here to Hebrews and Revelation and inferences drawn from the results. It is not strange, therefore, that we should find it applied to 2 Peter, and on this basis, doubts expressed as to its sameness of source with 1 Peter; nor is it strange that the Antiochene school, which was the literary heir of Alexandria, should drive these doubts regarding 2 Peter as it did many other critical queries from this region to a practical outcome and so omit the book from its canon altogether. At all events these facts will help us to understand why it was received so doubtfully when it was received, and why in the Syrian part of the church it was not received at all.

It is further true that there are differences between this epistle of ours and 1 Peter, but it would be another thing to say that these differences are such as cannot be in any way accounted for by a difference of subject in the writing, or a difference of purpose on the writer's part. Criticism is coming over to too kindly a feeling towards the differences between the pastorals and the acknowledged letters of Paul to make it safe to press the differences which we have here between 1 and 2 Peter. On the other hand it is abundantly evident that while there are differences between these two epistles there are also quite decided resemblances between them, and resemblances which show a perfect naturalness and an absence of all design. In fact, when one comes to study closely, the differences are confined almost wholly to chapter 2, in which the author has been influenced in this form of expression largely by the essential peculiarity of the facts with which he has to deal. It is quite true that there are interesting literary resemblances

between our epistle and some parts of Josephus, *Antiquities*, but it is more than has been proved that they must be due only to a use by our author of Josephus' works. Dr. Abbot has contended brilliantly for such a dependence, but he has shown nothing more than that 2 Peter and the *Antiquities* belong to the same stage of Hellenistic literature, and that their authors may have produced their resemblance to each other by drawing from a common vocabulary and being subjects of a common national, and what might be called educational life. And, lastly, it is true that the author of our letter makes striking reference to Paul and his epistles, but it is exegetically clear that he cannot have in mind all the Pauline letters which now exist, since not all Paul's canonical letters by any means correspond to the statements made regarding them here. And grammatically, it is clear that the phrase "in all [his] epistles" cannot describe the Pauline letters referred to as a closed collection, canonically received by the church while the term "the other Scriptures," though it refers to writings on an equality with which Paul's are placed, does not necessarily thereby refer to the Old Testament Scriptures.

From a consideration of these contentions concerning our epistle it is evident that, though its Petrine authorship may not be held to be disproved, its proving invites most serious and scholarly study, while it is also evident that, were not the canonical reception of the epistle so late many of the objections urged against its apostolic source would not be thought of. The truth of it is we are spoiled for the scanty testimony for 2 Peter by the generally abundant testimony for the other New Testament books. On a classical standard 2 Peter would be considered witnessed to beyond doubt. Rawlinson's figures for Herodotus, and Thucydides, and Tacitus, and Livy, make us wonder at the abundant witness we have for these writings of the Greek canon.

The letter which follows 2 Peter claims to have been written by Jude who designates himself as "a servant of Jesus Christ and brother of James," (v. 1^a), a designation which reminds us of the first epistle of the catholic group, where James speaks of himself in the same simple way, "James, a servant of God and the Lord Jesus Christ." It would seem as though it was of this James that our author intends to call himself a brother. At all events it is a James who is well enough known to be designated simply by his name without any further title of office or of honor.

The readers are referred to in most general terms (v. 1^b) and can hardly have belonged to any one community, although from the general

address of 2 Peter, which was evidently intended for the specific communities of 1 Peter, a catholic greeting may not, after all, be inconsistent with a definite circle of readers. From the Jewish association of the author and the Jewish cast of the letter, it may not be unlikely that it was intended for the Jewish Christians of Palestine and even written from within Palestine itself.

The date of its composition is dependent largely upon the literary connection it bears to 2 Peter. The two documents are, in a way, strikingly alike, the second chapter of 2 Peter being almost a reproduction of our epistle. One author has undoubtedly had before him the writing of the other. The question is, which one can claim priority. It may not be so very easy to decide between them, though it would seem from vs. 17 f, that our author believed that the prophetic description of the errorists present in his day was to be found, chiefly at least, in this second writing of the Apostle Peter, which was known to his readers as well as to himself. Be this as it may, the literary resemblance between the two passages is too decided to allow our ignoring their connection and the consequent dependence of one upon the other.

But if 2 Peter has the claim to priority, then it would seem as though we could not possibly avoid assigning our epistle to a date after the destruction of Jerusalem, in which case the same difficulty arises, as in 2 Peter itself, regarding the apparent absence of all reference to this catastrophe from the cited examples of retributive justice upon those who were unbelieving and godless.

The motive is clearly stated to be a desire to stimulate the readers to a contention for the common truth of their religion over against the immoralities of certain who had come in among them and were perverting the truth concerning the grace of God into an excuse for licentiousness and consequently denying the mastership of Christ over their lives (vs. 3 f.). Who these libertines were may be impossible to say. Apparently to the author they seemed to be such as answered to the prophetic description given in 2 Peter, and evidently, whoever they were, their chief characteristic was a tendency to rank and godless antinomianism. They do not seem to be teachers of any set of doctrines beyond simply the practical insistence upon this freedom of licentious living as involved in the idea of the grace of God. And this sort of false teaching was present, more or less, throughout the apostolic age.

It would seem, therefore, from the facts which our letter discloses

concerning itself as though the only real difficulty in assigning it to the author which it claims is this one about the absence of any reference to the fall of the Holy City, after which event it seems most probably to have been written ; but that this difficulty must overcome the other favorable points which allow of an apostolic age is a very great deal to say. The quotations which appear in one letter from Jewish apocryphal literature were quite possible to have been made in the apostolic century, and present no more difficulty regarding the credibility of the book than quotations in the Old Testament from extra canonical writings and references in other New Testament books besides one epistle which involve evidently similar unbiblical sources (*e.g.*, 2 Tim. 3:8 ; Acts, 7:22).

ANALYSIS.

I. Peter.

I. INTRODUCTORY.

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|--|-------------------------------|
| 1. Greeting. | I |
| 2. Thanksgiving for the hope given us through Christ's resurrection in which hope we greatly rejoice in spite of present trials and through faith in which Christ we receive already our (perfected) salvation. In view of these facts the readers are exhorted to be calm and hopeful to the end perfecting their lives in holiness and reverence toward God and in love toward the brethren. | I : 1 f I : 3-12—I : 13-25 |

II. MAIN PORTION OF THE EPISTLE, consisting of various groups of exhortations, dealing with their Christian living. 2 : 1—5 : 9
Introductory statement, concerning the character of their spiritual desires. 2 : 1-10.

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|---|--------------|
| 1. Exhortations having to do with their relation to the civil power. | 2 : 11-17 |
| 2. Exhortations bearing upon their domestic relations. | 2 : 18—3 : 7 |
| 3. Exhortations regarding the conduct of general life. | 3 : 8-22 |
| 4. Exhortations looking toward the laying aside, through suffering, of the old evil life. | 4 : 1-6 |
| 5. Exhortations looking toward the taking up of the graces and duties of the new life. | 4 : 7-11 |
| 6. Exhortations looking toward the exercise of calmness and joy under civil persecutions. | 4 : 12-19 |
| 7. Exhortations bearing upon their church responsibility and relations. | 5 : 1-9 |

III. CONCLUSION.

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|-----------------|---------------------|
| 1. Benediction. | 5 : 10-14 |
| 2. Doxology. | 5 : 10 |
| 3. Salutation. | 5 : 17 5 : 12-14 |

II Peter.

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| I. INTRODUCTORY. | I |
| 1. Greeting. | 1:1 f |
| 2. Exhortation to a diligent perfection of their Christian character and life. | 1:3-10 |
| 3. The apostle's purpose to keep them in remembrance of the truths he had just been laying before them. | 1:11-21 |
| II. MAIN PORTION OF THE EPISTLE. | 2:1-3:13 |
| 1. Discussion of false teachers who were to appear among them. | |
| Their description. | 2:1 |
| Results of their work. | 2:2 f |
| The punishment awaiting them—whose reality was proven by God's dealings in past times. | 2:4-10 ^a |
| Renewed description in detail. | 2:10 ^b -22 |
| 2. Reminder of the certainty of Christ's coming over against the scoffs of mocking men. | 3:1-10 |
| To which is appended an exhortation to earnest and expectant living and further diligence in perfecting themselves. | 3:11-17 |
| III. CONCLUSION. | 3:17 f |
| 1. Warning and exhortation. | 3:17, 18 ^a |
| 2. Doxology. | 3:18 ^b |

Jude.

| | |
|---|-------|
| I. INTRODUCTORY. | |
| 1. Greeting. | 1 f |
| II. MAIN PORTION OF THE EPISTLE. | 3-23 |
| 1. Purpose in writing the letter, viz., to stimulate them for the faith and to warn them against evil-doers in their midst. | 3 f |
| 2. Reminder of God's punishment of evil-doers in past times. | 5 ff |
| 3. Description of the evil-doers who had appeared among them with the prophecy concerning their punishment. | 8-16 |
| 4. Reminder of the apostolic prediction regarding them with an exhortation to an establishment of their own faith and activity in rescuing these errorists. | 17-23 |
| III. CONCLUSION. | |
| 1. Doxology | 24 f |

Comparative Religion Notes.

Chinese Ancestral Worship and Its Significance.—In the Journal of the Transactions of the Victorian Institute Vol. XXVIII. is reproduced a paper read by Surgeon General Gordon before the Institute on *Chinese Ethics and Philosophy* which touches on ancestral worship. He says, "Even to a stranger there is something in the ceremonies which is calculated to attract respectful attention, nor can the foreign onlooker avoid a hope that the merits of the ancestors so honored were such in life as to deserve the veneration so manifested at the tombs and temples dedicated to their memory. As to the actuating sentiment of which the observances in question are the outcome, it seems to me akin to that which in western lands puts expression in monuments such as ornament cathedrals and churches, and in more humble manner strews periodically with flowers the graves of those whom we had loved."

In his remarks on the paper, in the discussion that followed, the eminent scholar and administrator, Sir Thomas F. Wade declared, "I have never been able to regard the worship of ancestors as a rite to be summarily put down. I do not regard it as an idolatrous rite. The tombs are repaired twice a year; in the spring and autumn. A tablet, it is true, is exhibited with a number of characters on it; but there is no image and no image worship. There are offerings set by the dead and incense burned, but I do not think the origin of that worship is to be explained otherwise than by the prescription which Confucius himself obeyed and inculcated, viz., that you shall serve the parent, dead, as though he were living. . . . I do not think it worth while, therefore for missionaries to attack, headlong, that question of ancestral worship. I think we must extend to it very much the same tolerance that St. Paul enjoined upon the early Christians in the case of the Jews in respect of the ceremonies which they had been brought up to observe, and which they were, for the time, unwilling to put away."

These views found opponents. Archdeacon A. E. Moule said, "The author is I believe, right as to the original *sentiment* which gave birth to ancestral worship, it is not right in implying, as he seems to imply, that modern observances coincide with ancient sentiment. Modern observance *do*, I fear, involve *worship*. I have pleaded the desirability of substituting some Christian memorial rite for the Chinese church, which may preserve the sentiment and avoid superstitious observance." Mr. T. A. Barber, a teacher in a Chinese high school, declared that while "it is only fair to recognize the kinship to western care for the memorials of the dead, it should not be forgotten that in practical life the outcome is the slavery of the living to the dead, and a childish perpetual haunting fear of ghosts. . . . Prayers to the dead are frequent."

Rev. R. C. Forsyth said that "as a Christian missionary who had labored in the interior of China for over eight years, I cannot agree that this ceremony is harmless. . . . In one mission we have endeavored to substitute for the idolatrous worship a Christian service of thanksgiving and praise." He referred to what Dr. Williams in his *Middle Kingdom* (Vol. II., p. 239) wrote: "The fact that filial piety in the system has overpassed the limit set by God in his Word, and that deceased parents are worshiped as gods by their children is both true and sad. That the worship rendered to their ancestors by the Chinese is idolatrous cannot be doubted; and it forms one of the subtlest phases of idolatry—essentially evil with the guise of goodness—ever established among men."

The Babylonian-Assyrian Religion.—The religion of the Babylonians and Assyrians has a more than ordinary interest for students of the Old Testament because of the close relation between the history of these peoples and that of Israel, and the likenesses between their traditions of the primitive world, creation, the deluge, etc. There is a vast religious literature of Babylonia on which students have as yet scarce made an impression. The language of these inscriptions is difficult, often unintelligible, and problems respecting origins and relations of religions and gods arise at every step. But progress is slowly being made. Specialists in Assyriology are specializing yet more narrowly on these texts. Professor J. A. Craig of the University of Michigan, has just completed a series of Assyrian and Babylonian religious texts, chiefly hymns, prayers, oracles, etc., from the Kouyunjik collection in the British Museum. The first part of this work will contain, on 83 autographed pages, the cuneiform texts, together with a preface and a table of contents. Vol. II. which, we understand, will follow in the course of next year, will supply a full translation, English translation, a short commentary and glossary; additional texts will also be appended. Dr. Tallquist has already published a series of texts of formulæ and conjurations called the Maqlû-texts. "Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Assyrisch-babylonischen Religion" will be the title of a new volume of the *Assyriologische Bibliothek*," the first part of which is on the eve of publication. Professor Zimmern of Leipzig will therein give a large number of hitherto unpublished cuneiform texts from the Royal Library at Nineveh, preserved in the British Museum. The first installment will contain the texts of the so-called Shurpû-Series, and in addition to them a full transliteration and translation, short commentary and a vocabulary. And now "The Prayers of the Lifting of the Hand," being the cuneiform text of a group of Babylonian and Assyrian incantations and formulæ from the Tablets of the Konyunjik Collection, preserved in the British Museum, edited with transliteration, translations, notes and full vocabulary, by Leonard W. King, M.A., of the British Museum, is announced by Messrs. Luzac & Co. Professor Morris Jastrow, Jr., announces the publication of his *Religions of Babylonia and Assyria*, in the series of "Handbooks on the History of Religions," sometime during the present year.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE LATEST FROM PETRIE.

THE RAMESSEUM, LUXOR, February 14, 1896.

MY DEAR BREASTED:

I am very glad to hear that you are getting on well and that your friends see their way to help the E. R. A. (Egyptian Research Account). We shall have some more material for you this year. . . .

Now for results. The Ramesseum is of Ramses II—the only thing left unchanged. The chapel of Uazmes was rebuilt by Amenhotep III, as his ring was under the door sill. The temple next south is of Tahutmes IV—yet unnamed in maps. Next is a big tomb of Khonsu arduus, goldsmith of the temple of Amen, XXV dynasty. Then comes the leveled plain with a scarp of rock-gravel on the *W* and *N*, marked ——— on maps; and on the plain—but later than its leveling—was a temple of Queen Tausert as sole ruler, Tausert, setep en Mut, Sat Ra, mery Amen, who has left us in *foundation deposits 500 scarabs and plaques of colored glazes with cartouches, and 1200 glazed objects besides three slabs with the names.*

Then south of that is the so-called temple of Amenhotep III, which is really the funereal temple of Merenptah. *That beast smashed up all the statues and sculptures of Amenhotep II to put into his foundations, and wrecked the gorgeous temple behind the colossi for building material.* We have a few fine pieces of Amenhotep III; and the upper half of a fine black granite statue of Merenptah.

I am now going to clear two small temples north of the Ramesseum, so you see we are getting through the field of temples here at a pretty good rate. Quibell is doing the Ramesseum, and I am doing the others. We make complete plans of all the buildings and foundations. This sort of clearing up is what "exploration" should be, and not merely the elaborate clearing out of one building. The whole lot of half a dozen temple sites we shall clear up, and fix historically, for about \$2500 or \$3000. . . . You can make any use you like of this information for publishing.

I bought a piece of a stele dedicated by the "royal son, 'ahmes, called Sa'pa'r," explaining his name. He is figured as a boy.

Bant anta was probably mother of Merenptah, as her name occurs in his temple ruins, but no other relatives. Quibell and his sister are well and desire to be remembered to you. Hoping to see you out here next year,

Yours very sincerely,

W. M. FLINDERS PETRIE.

The scene of the above excavations was published as the frontispiece of the January BIBLICAL WORLD of the current year, though it was impossible to include all the territory covered, in one view. Ancient Thebes comprised two cities: on the east bank of the Nile, the city of the living; on the west bank, the city of the dead. The tall cliffs on the west shoresweep back from the river in a wide curve, forming a semi-circular plain like a vast amphitheatre.

theater nearly two miles across. In the face of the cliffs, plainly visible in our views, the tombs of the new empire nobles are hewn out, while back of them in a lonely valley are the great rock tombs of the new empire kings. In the days of pyramid building, the king built to the eastward of his pyramid, a chapel or temple in which he was honored after death. Just so in the new empire to the eastward of his tomb chamber now cut in the mountain, the Pharaoh built a great funereal chapel or temple, and these temples,



though now in sad ruins, stretch along the Theban plain in imposing array at the foot of the cliffs. It is among these sanctuaries that Mr. Petrie is now working.

The Ramesseum, in spite of its wrecked condition the most beautiful in the series, has long been thought to be the work of Ramses II, and hence its name. Nevertheless it is always a question, especially in the nineteenth dynasty, whether or not a king may have appropriated any structure bearing his name. For example, Ramses II pulled down the funereal temple of Usertes II's pyramid at Illahun, merely for the sake of the material. At Bubastis in the Delta he built into his temple, great blocks bearing the name Usertes III (British Mus. No. 1102), which of course he filched from some

building of the latter. But Mr. Petrie's results at the Ramesseum, as the funereal temple in our first illustration is called, show that the building really belongs to Ramses II, in material as well as structure. Directly in the foreground are the fragments of a monolithic granite colossus of Ramses II, which stood over 60 feet in height, and weighed about 1200 tons. Looking through the pillars at the extreme right, the mud brick arches which once formed the cellar of the temple storehouse, are visible in the distance. Under three of these arches, Mr. Petrie is now living.



Just to the southward of the Ramesseum (to the left of our view, but out of range), Mr. Petrie has identified the almost obliterated ruins of Tahutmes IV's temple, and still further south the tomb of the goldsmith, Khonsu ardu. Proceeding in the same direction, according the letter, the result has been the discovery of a temple, belonging to a queen, living in the uncertain days at the close of the nineteenth dynasty, Tausert, doubtless the period in which the exodus of the Hebrews took place. The discovery of this temple, disclosing the queen "as sole ruler," though she has hitherto been thought to have been simply a queen consort (wife of Sa-ptah), will throw much light on this very obscure period. A foundation deposit, like that of the Dêr-el-bahri

temple, of which we spoke in the January Notes, was also found in this queen's sanctuary. As we there stated, it answers in general to our corner stone deposit; note the large list of objects found in this case.

Perhaps the most interesting results of Mr. Petrie's work here is the explanation of the disappearance of the great temple just behind the colossi of the plain (see second view). These colossi are statues of Amenhotep III, such as every king was accustomed to place on either side of the entrance of a temple guarding the portal. The northern statue of these two is the famous colossus of Memnon, so well known in classic history, from its having uttered a cry at sunrise every day. Both are monolithic, of a hard, sandy conglomerate, and before the loss of the crown must have stood 60 feet high, and weighed 1175 tons each. The temple before which they stood has however completely disappeared, as is evident in the view. The present excavations now show that this disappearance is primarily due to "that beast" Merenptah, who it seems was not content merely to obtain for his own funereal temple near at hand, but viciously and wantonly used as such the "statuary and sculptures" which adorned the "gorgeous temple behind the colossi." It was then probably used as quarry by any and everybody. This discovery serves to intensify the grudge we already owe Merenptah, for he has long been notorious for the wholesale appropriation of predecessors' work of whatever character. Even his own father, Ramses II failed to escape; for example, the Berlin colossus of the latter, bears the name of Merenptah, which he coolly engraved upon the breast, though he did not venture to erase his father's name. A Berlin statue of one of the Amenemhet's was also appropriated by this same despicable insatiate. The arbitrary assumption by many, that Merenptah is the Pharaoh of the Exodus is probably familiar to the reader.

Some of the results of these excavations will find their way into the Haskell Oriental Museum of the University of Chicago, and any interested reader will be welcome to inspect them there. Should any reader desire to show a substantial interest in the above investigations, for the sake of historical and archæological science as it concerns the Old Testament, not to say also our Oriental Museum, nothing would be more fitting and profitable. It will be seen from the letter, how much the judicious expenditure of a comparatively small sum of money will do.



Notes and Opinions.

THE cut upon the cover of this number represents St. John and St. Peter, and is one of the last works of Albert Dürer. The original, together with its companion panel, St. Paul and St. Mark, was given by the artist to his native city Munich, as a sort of profession of his faith, and accompanied by a written statement that he considered these four authors the "fundamental pillars of the original Christian doctrines in their purity." So striking are the contrasts between the four

figures, that they have also been known as the "Four Temperaments." In none of his works has Dürer shown greater simplicity of style and depth of color, and in none of them is he freer from mannerisms. The two panels are now in the Pinakothek, Munich.

Christ and the Old Testament Criticism. Rev. R. G. Balfour in his book of theological essays, discusses the *Kenosis* of our Lord and its relation to his knowledge of the Old Testament literary and historical problems. He sums up his discussion in the following temperate and comprehensive statement:

"The sum and substance, then, of what we have to say on this subject is this: An appeal to the authority of the Lord Jesus Christ on questions of Old Testament criticism is competent, but it should be cautiously and reverently taken. There is a rash and random way of doing it that has not unfairly been compared to the conduct of the Israelites in bringing the Ark into the battle-field. When we adduce the testimony of the Lord Jesus in support of a particular view of the structure, the authorship, or the inspiration of any part of the Old Testament, we should first consider carefully whether his words really bear the interpretation we have put upon them, and whether, even if that be so, without supposing that Christ accommodated himself to the prejudices of his times, it may not be true that he used the language current

in his day, where no important interest was at stake. That language may not have been strictly accurate, and yet he may have deemed it better to employ it than to correct every error however trifling, thus raising a number of side issues, which would have turned men's attention from the great questions on which he desired to fix their thoughts. If, after weighing these things deliberately, we still believe that Jesus uttered words which imply, and were meant to imply, a judgment on any critical question, then we are entitled to appeal to his authority as decisive. Only let us see that our appeal is not based on any assumed omniscience of our blessed Lord in the days of his flesh, for that were to make no account of his own disclaimer, or of the Pauline doctrine of the Kenosis of the Eternal Word. Rather let us base it on the fact that even in the time of his humiliation our Lord was the great Prophet of the Church, anointed in unmeasured fulness with the Holy Ghost, so that, as every act he did was right, every word he spoke was true."

The Old Testament Teaching concerning Immortality.—In Dr. Salmond's new book, the *Christian Doctrine of Immortality*, a contribution of unusual ability and value has been made to the literature of this subject, the future of mankind. The book is worth careful attention from the first page to the last. The summary of his view of the Old Testament teaching concerning immortality is as follows (pp. 271–274): "On the one hand we have found the Pentateuch almost entirely silent on the subject of a future life. We have found the Old Testament, as a whole, pervaded by the conception of a chill, shadowy underworld, like that to which the Babylonian and the Greek looked, and did so without hope or satisfaction. We have found the individual and his lot sunk for the most part in the nation and its lot, and we have found no clear or sufficient faith in the existence of a moral order or judicial awards after death. On the other hand, we have found hints of higher things; half-articulate, divine voices breaking through the silence even of the Mosaic books; words of sublime suggestion, like those regarding Enoch, which point far behind the documents in which they rest, and far above the common belief. We have found faith asserting its prerogative as the 'substance of things hoped for, and the evidence of things not seen,' cleaving to God and to the certainty of his fellowship in the heavy present and in the dark beyond, snatching glimpses of a gracious future, negating death, and forecasting life by assuring itself of the communion of the Eternal. And with this we have seen the gradual emergence of a more positive and constant belief, given in the deliverances of the prophets, and rising at last to the hope of a resurrection to life. We might have looked for something much clearer and more definite than this. It is contrary to all our natural expectations that darkness should prevail so long and in such degree over the problems of an after life. . . . But the strangeness is due to our imperfect ideas of God's methods of education and inspiration. It is according to the divine plan of a progressive revelation that these things are so. . . . If the doctrine of the Old Testa-

ment is a limited doctrine, it must be said again that it is an original doctrine. . . . We find enough within itself to account for all that is most distinctive in the various stages in which its sentiment and its teachings on the subject of an after life appear."

The Teaching of Jesus concerning Immortality.—Dr. Salmond then presents Jesus' teaching concerning the future life, which will appear in the following sentences: "He [Jesus] passes by all theoretic questions regarding the soul's endlessness. He gives no proof of the certainty of a future existence; he presupposes that existence. He does not speak of immortality, but rather of *life*, as man's destiny. He dwells upon the broad truths, the foundations of hope, the certainties, which are contained in man's relation to God the Father, the new birth, the union with himself. He communicates his doctrine of the future neither in the way of reasoned statement nor as something which can be taken apart from other truths, but by unfolding the issues of that divine kingdom, the expectation of which had been the strength of the Old Testament hope" (p. 295). The four aspects of Jesus' teaching concerning the future are his Return, the Resurrection, the Judgment, Heaven and Hell. Dr. Salmond takes the view that in the eschatological discourse both the destruction of Jerusalem and his own Return are inseparably present, and explains the statements that both should come to pass within a generation by saying: "But this is only in accordance with the nature of biblical prophecy, and in this our Lord again attaches himself to the Old Testament. Events which history shows to have been widely separated, are brought together in what is described as prophetic perspective or 'timeless sequence,' or in causal connection, or as if the one formed part of the other" (p. 303). "The whole strain of his teaching is inconsistent with the millenarian conception of the future, both in its terms and in its spirit. He gives no hint of a millenium or any measured period between his Advent and the Consummation. He speaks of an apostasy, but of that as preceding his coming, not at the close of a thousand years. He says nothing of a limited duration for his kingdom, nothing of a personal reign on earth for a definite period, nothing of a literal restoration of Israel to its ancient land, nothing of a new Jerusalem in which the kingdom has its seat. He speaks only of one coming in the future, and the object of that is never said to be the gathering of his saints around him in an earthly dominion" (p. 312). As to the Resurrection, this "forms a real part of Christ's teaching in the synoptical gospels, and it is the doctrine of a *bodily* resurrection" (p. 334). Nor is this a resurrection of the righteous only, but also of the wicked, for "the synoptical record of Christ's doctrine of a future judgment implies a general resurrection, and the very phrase, the 'resurrection of the just,' suggests its own antithesis. In the fourth gospel, moreover, he expressly contrasts a 'resurrection unto life' with a 'resurrection unto condemnation,' and speaks of a reawakening of the dead in connection with the final judgment, in terms which imply the universality of both.

And this resurrection of good and evil he refers to the last day. Neither in the synoptists nor in John does he speak of the resurrection of the just as an event distinct from that of the unjust, and separated from it by any space of time" (p. 337). With respect to the final judgment, "not only does he declare the fact of a future judgment with solemn and emphatic reiteration, but . . . he announces himself as the judge, the absolute and final judge of men. It is among the most stupendous of his claims, and it is of scarce less moment that it should have been accepted by others than that it should have been made by himself. . . . The judgment which he declares to be in his hand is a universal and individual judgment. . . . It is alleged that the representation of Christ's teaching on this subject, which is given in the fourth gospel, is essentially different from that of the synoptists. . . . The fourth gospel certainly speaks of the judgment more as a present process, and looks to its spiritual aspects and relations . . . [but] a just exegesis finds no contradiction between Matthew and John in this matter, nothing in the more subjective view of judgment in the latter that is necessarily exclusive of the more objective view in the former. It does not permit us to say that Christ limits himself to the inward, continuous judgment which proceeds in life and in conscience, and makes no announcement of a future, final, open judgment. It may be difficult to imagine this decision of the last day, and difficult to interpret Christ's words on judgment. But these words, as they come to us in the four gospels, are more than a large symbolism for the verdicts of history and men's moral consciousness" (pp. 320-5). As for an intermediate state, there is "no ground for saying that Christ taught any doctrine of an intermediate state. . . . His teaching rather overleaps that period in man's story which intervenes between death and the risen life. He speaks of those who have entered it as in *sleep*. But he uses the word for purposes of hope and comfort, not to indicate a space of unconsciousness. Far less does he give any intimation of a detention of souls in an intermediate space. On the other hand, some of his words point rather to the hope of an immediate entrance of the righteous dead into his Father's glory" (pp. 350-1). As to heaven and hell, the final destinies of men, did Christ point to the restoration of all, the annihilation of some, or the everlasting punishment of any? "It cannot be said that our Lord's own teaching favors the doctrine of a terminable penalty for the worst of sins, or a final recovery of all sinners. It throws into the foreground the large and unmistakable principles of the penalty of sin in the after-world, man's individual accountability, the summing up of the life of mankind in a final crisis of judgment, the determination of the eternal lot by the existence in time" (p. 383). "Christ's own teaching, we must conclude, gives the significance of finality to the moral decisions of the present life. If there are possibilities of change, forgiveness, relaxation of penalty, or cessation of punishment in the future life, his words at least do not reveal them. He never softens the awful responsibilities of this life even by the dim adumbration of such possibilities" (p. 389).

Work and Workers.

REV. JAMES M. WHITON, PH.D., well known by his general articles upon Christian history and thought, has become a member of the editorial staff of the *Outlook*.

DR. GEIKIE states that it is his intention to prepare a volume supplementary to his *New Testament Hours*, presenting the history of the early Christian church down to the close of the New Testament canon.

MESSRS. MACMILLAN & CO., have in press a volume of *Studies in Judaism*, by Mr. S. Shechter, Reader in Rabbinic in the University of Cambridge, which deals in a scholarly manner with many somewhat obscure topics in connection with the Jewish faith.

A BEQUEST of \$50,000 has been made to the college for women of the Western Reserve University by Mrs. S. V. Harkness of New York, one of the heirs of the Harkness estate of Cleveland, Ohio. The gift is given toward the establishment of a chair of biblical literature in the institution, and the entire amount will be at the disposal of the college within the present year.

MESSRS. T. & T. CLARK of Edinburgh have in preparation a new *Dictionary of the Bible*, under the editorship of the Rev. James Hastings, M.A., editor of *The Expository Times*, who is being assisted by specialists in the oversight of the various departments of the work. The need of a comprehensive dictionary, recording the results of present-day scholarship, is keenly felt. The new dictionary will seek to cover the whole range of Bible knowledge, including biblical theology; and as the articles have been entrusted in all cases to men, both in Europe and America, who have made special study of the subject in question, it may be expected with some confidence that it will supply the need which has been so long and so widely felt. It is expected that the work will consist of four volumes, imperial octavo, of about 900 pages each. The writers are now practically all engaged, and a large part of the first volume is in type.

Among the writers of Old and New Testament articles are Professor Sanday of Oxford, *Jesus Christ*; Professor G. A. Smith, *Isaiah, Joshua*; Professor Skinner, *Ezekiel*; Canon Taylor, *Alphabet*; Professor Thayer of Cambridge, Mass., *Language of the New Testament*; Professor Batten of Philadelphia, *Ezra, Nehemiah*; Professor Beecher of New York, *Giants, Philistines, Wine*; Professor Francis Brown of New York, *Chronicles*; Professor Bruce, *Hebrews*; Rev. R. H. Charles of Oxford, *Apocalyptic, Book of Enoch, Eschatology of the Apocrypha*; Principal Chase of Cambridge, *St. Peter, St.*

Jude; Professor Curtis of Yale, *Chronology of Old Testament, Genealogy*; Professor A. B. Davidson of Edinburgh, *Hosea, Jeremiah, Prophecy and Prophets of the Old Testament*; Professor Dods, *Galatians*; Professor Flint, *Solomon*; Professor Gwatkin of Cambridge, *Church Government*; President Harper of Chicago, *Minor Prophets*; Professor Kennedy of Edinburgh, *Sacrifice, Tabernacle*; Professor Lock of Oxford, *Ephesians, Pastoral Epistles*; Professor M'Curdy of Toronto, *Semites*; Professor Margoliouth of Oxford, *Arabia, Language of Old Testament*; Professor J. A. Patterson, *Judges, Pass-over*; Professor W. A. Patterson, *Marriage*; Professor Peake of Manchester, *Ecclesiastes*; Professor Porter of Yale, *Apocrypha, Judith*; Professor Poucher of Greencastle, *Crimes and Punishments, Name, Number*; Professor Price of Chicago, *Accadians, Chaldeans, Moabite Stone*; Dr. Reynolds, *St. John's Gospel*; Dr. A. Robertson of Durham, *Romans, Corinthians*; Professor Ryle of Cambridge, *Israel, Genesis, Deuteronomy, Maccabees*; Professor Salmond of Aberdeen, *St. Mark, St. John's Epistles*; Professor Strack of Berlin, *Text of the Old Testament*; Bishop Westcott of Durham, *Revised Version*.

The theological articles will chiefly be written by Professor Adams Brown of New York, *Cross, Peace, Salvation, Millenium*; Professor Armitage Robinson of Cambridge, *Communion*; Professor Agar Beet of Richmond, *Christology*; Canon Bernard of Salisbury, *Prayer, Sin*; Professor Bernard of Dublin, *Miracles, Nature*; Professor Candlish of Glasgow, *Adoption, Mediator*; Professor A. B. Davidson of Edinburgh, *Angels, Covenant, Day of Jehovah, God, Old Testament Eschatology*; Dr. Denney, *Adam, Ascension, Curse, Promise, Law, Priest in New Testament*; Professor Driver of Oxford, *Law, Priests and Levites in Old Testament*; Professor Findlay of Leeds, *Theology of St. Paul*; Professor Laidlaw of Edinburgh, *Psychology*; Professor Lock of Oxford, *Pleroma, Kenosis, Son of Man*; Professor Orr of Edinburgh, *Love, Kingdom of God*; Dr. Plummer of Durham, *Sacraments*; Professor Purves of Princeton, *Crown, Darkness, Logos, Pilate, Pentecost*; Principal Simon of Bradford, *Justification*; Canon Stanton of Cambridge, *Alms, Messiah, Theodicy*; Professor Stevens of Yale, *Holiness and Righteousness in New Testament*; Principal Stewart of St. Andrews, *Bible, Grace, Theology*; Professor Swete of Cambridge, *Holy Spirit*; Professor Warfield of Princeton, *Faith*.

The geography of Palestine will be written chiefly by Colonel Conder, Sir C. W. Wilson, Sir Charles Warren, Professor Hull, Dr. Bliss, Dr. Selah Merrill, Dr. H. Clay Trumbull, and Professor G. A. Smith; the history and geography of Assyria and Babylonia, by Professor Hommel of Munich, Professor W. Max Müller of Philadelphia, Dr. Sayce of Oxford, Professor Price of Chicago, and Mr. Pinches of the British Museum; of Egypt, by Professor Flinders Petrie; and of Asia Minor, by Professor Ramsay. The natural history will be contributed by Dr. Post of Beirut.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

GENERAL NOTES.

Among the courses of biblical lectures delivered during the past month are two of special note. The first, a series by Professor Richard G. Moulton, is given under the auspices of the Minneapolis Local Board of the Institute. The lectures are free to the public and are delivered in two churches on the afternoon and evening of the same day (Sunday). The audiences have been large and enthusiastic. The subjects of the lectures are as follows :

(1) Prophetic Literature as a whole. (2) Epic and Dramatic Prophecy. (3) The Orations of Deuteronomy. (4) The Prophetic Rhapsody and Book of Habakkuk. (5) Rhapsody of Joel. (6) Rhapsody of Zion Redeemed (Isa. 40-66).

In this connection it is well to note the valuable work which has been done by the Minneapolis Local Board. This Board was one of the first organized by the Institute, and it has each year since its organization conducted a special lecture course. Rev. W. P. McKee, the secretary of the Board, has been indefatigable in his efforts and the results show that these efforts have not been unavailing. The difficulty of interesting the public in biblical lectures is one which can only be overcome by continuous presentation of attractive courses. Among the lecturers in Minneapolis in past years have been Professor E. C. Bissell, Professor Ira M. Price, Professor C. A. Briggs, Professor Richard G. Moulton, Professor William R. Harper.

The second course of lectures referred to is that of Professor Augustus S. Carrier, D.D., of McCormick Theological Seminary in Chicago. These lectures were delivered at the Church of the Covenant in that city and were intended to meet the needs of that large class of thoughtful Christians who desire information from a reliable source upon the questions at issue, concerning the early religion of Israel. The subjects were : (1) The Five Books of Moses ; Theories and Assumptions. (2) The Ten Plagues as a test of the Literary Unity of the Pentateuch. (3) The Tabernacle in the Wilderness ; Was it a fact or a figment of the Priests of the Exile ? (4) Hilkiah's Discovery in the House of the Lord.

We wish that such courses as these might be multiplied throughout the country until every town of any considerable size should count a biblical lecture course an essential part of its intellectual and spiritual stimulus for each year. The men are ready. Dozens of such courses could be supplied

through the Council of Seventy, but the demand must first come from the communities themselves. Many such have already been given under the auspices of Christian Endeavor Unions, Sunday-school County Associations, individual churches and in colleges.

The following is a full program of the work which will be offered in the Chautauqua Bible School during the summer of 1896:

First three weeks: Hebrew History, Professor Edw. L. Curtis (Yale University); The Times of the Christ, Professor Shailer Mathews (The University of Chicago); Studies in the Earlier Prophets, Professor Harper (The University of Chicago).

Second three weeks: The Hebrew Psalter, Professor F. K. Sanders (Yale University); The Life of the Christ (with special reference to the development of his idea concerning the kingdom of God), Professor Mathews; Studies in the Earlier Prophets, Professor Harper.

In addition to *beginning* courses in Hebrew and New Testament Greek running through the entire six weeks, the following exegetical courses will be given: (1) The first twelve chapters of the Acts. (2) The letter to the Galatians. In these courses special attention will also be given to the peculiarities of the New Testament Greek and to the syntax. The work will be conducted by Professor Mathews. The instructors in Hebrew will be Professors Sanders and Curtis of Yale, and Professor McClenahan of the U. P. Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pa. The advanced courses will cover selected Messianic Prophecies, Psalms and some of the Minor Prophets.

Six Sunday morning Bible studies will be given by Professor Harper. He will select for these six brief masterpieces in Hebrew literature. In addition to these, Professors James Agar Beet and George Adam Smith of Great Britain will deliver lectures on biblical subjects. This will be a rare opportunity to come into contact with some of the greatest thinkers of the present day.

The attention of ministers and students in seminaries is especially called to the advanced work in Hebrew and New Testament Greek. The natural attractions of Chautauqua as a place of recreation are so great that nowhere else can one find such a combination of rest and healthful intellectual stimulus. Here the continual giving out process in the life of a busy pastor may be exchanged for a brief time to the equally necessary one of taking in.

The following gentlemen have been elected trustees of the Council of Seventy: Mr. Cyrus H. McCormick of Chicago, Mr. Cleveland H. Dodge of New York City, and Mr. N. W. Harris of Chicago. The trustees are ex-officio members of the Senate of the Council, and of the finance committee, and have therefore an active part in the management of the institute.

Synopses of Important Articles.

THE HISTORICAL ELEMENT IN THE NEW TESTAMENT. By PROFESSOR J. HENRY THAYER. In the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, Vol. XIV., Parts 1 and 2.

The truth of the Scriptures is exhibited in specific shape, adjusted to particular times, persons, and places, and primarily intended for temporary needs. Although some exceptions, as the golden rule and various moral exhortations, may be proved, the truth of this statement will appear immediately to a thoughtful reader of the Bible. But this fact has been forgotten for many reasons. Some read the Old Testament as a sort of allegory, and its terms have been transformed so that they refer simply to the life beyond the grave. A striking illustration of this in the New Testament is the Apocalypse. Such a spiritualizing process is not wholly objectionable; indeed it is to be found in the New Testament itself. Thus John lifts the words of Caiphas into a prophecy. Paul makes a striking use of the veil over Moses' face. Further, some biblical precepts have been allowed to lapse, their exclusive application to the times when they were uttered being thus tacitly granted. Thus the precepts about wearing veils, the treatment of unmarried daughters, the prohibition of braided hair, the holy kiss, washing saints' feet. Many other passages can be understood correctly only by realizing this historical element. The statements in regard to the angels ascending and descending on the Son of Man, the abode of demons, the fall of Satan, have little force if taken literally and allowance be not made for the beliefs and expressions of the time in which they were uttered. In theology we see the influence of rabbinical training in the recognition by Paul of the Adamic headship to the unity of the rise. The Parousia of Christ is to be understood by recognition of the local and historical cast of Christ's language. Jesus was of necessity led to use language that would be understood by his hearers. Mingled fulfilment and deferment, verification and transformation, old hopes blossoming into new surprises, these are some of the steps of him "who moves in a mysterious way his wonders to perform."

The fact of the historical character of the language of the New Testament leads to the following suggestions: (1) It emphasizes the importance of studying the New Testament in its literary, national, and local relations. Students need courses of study in the literature, Jewish, heathen, and Christian, immediately preceding and following that of the Bible. (2) The recognition of the historical cast of our sacred records will lend new value to geographical and archæological information relative to the merit of their origin; and because of this (3) it is time that an American school for oriental study and research should be established in Palestine.

The article from which this abstract has been made was the author's annual address as president of the Society of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, at its yearly meeting in Hartford, June 2, 1895. It is especially noteworthy for two things: (1) Its recognition of the absolute necessity of historical training for the exegete; (2) its proposal for an American School in Palestine. So far as the second item is concerned, it is gratifying to learn that the society has recommended the formation of a school somewhat after the fashion of the American School at Athens, to be supported by subscriptions from the various theological seminaries, and that a committee has been appointed to bring the matter before proper authorities. There is an abundant need of some such institution as this. Biblical study, although gaining vastly from the work of the Palestine Exploration Fund and the German Palestinian Society, is still greatly in need of material similar to that which has of late years revolutionized classical studies. It is sincerely to be hoped that an American School will be established, and that it may prove as successful in throwing light upon the historical background of the Scriptures as has been the American School at Athens in throwing light upon Greek history.

S. M.

THE LITERARY FEATURES AND THE INSPIRATION OF THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT. By E. L. CURTIS, in the *New Christian Quarterly*, July 1895. Pp. 64-71.

Two groups of historical works appear in the Old Testament, one Genesis to 2 Kings (except Ruth), the other, 1 and 2 Chronicles, Ezra and Nehemiah. An examination of Chronicles shows that it draws its material from earlier written sources, some of which it names, others, *e. g.*, Kings, being silently used. The same general fact is true of all the historical books.

The method of employing these sources is compilation, *i. e.*, making extracts verbatim and joining them together. On a framework like that found in Judges the compiler arranges his collections thus drawn from other writings.

These earlier writings laid under tribute are of four kinds: stories, laws, annals and genealogies. Stories preserve the early history in the only form it has come down to us, often inadequately, from the historical point of view, but most successfully from the emotional and religious point of view, which is that taken by the biblical writers. Much of the biblical history is child's history, and preserves details which serve to "point a moral or adorn a tale," not to present historic motives and results.

Sometimes, in compiling these narratives, the extracts from different writings are placed together without change. Sometimes modifications, omissions and changes were made to remove discrepancies and produce a consistent impression. A comparison of details in Kings and Chronicles shows this process.

Does such a procedure cast doubt on the trustworthiness of these histories? Observe in reply (1) that these writers are evidently sincere and honest. (2) Modern research has confirmed the truthfulness of much of their geographical detail and historical reference. (3) The purpose is not primarily historical but religious, hence omissions and adaptations, in order to accom-

plish the end of teaching religion, "Exact, painstaking histories, written in a scientific historical manner, could never have served as a vehicle of religious truth."

The religious element of the Old Testament historical books is threefold: (1) prophetic, insistence on righteousness of life, (2) priestly, insistence on religious institutions, (3) the ultimate design of both prophetic and priestly histories to set forth a history of redemption. This constitutes their unique character, their inspiration. This element of redemption appears in the history of Israel, in its bright and dark sides; in the institutions of Israel, both civil and religious. God was specially in history and institutions alike, making them a prophecy of Christ. The records of this history are also inspired, since they directly and specially reveal God. "No other history has been written like theirs. The writers of that history were inspired. They wrote as they were moved by the Holy Ghost, and, save in the writers of the New Testament, they have had no successors, and they will never have until Christ shall come again in his glory."

The recognition of the imperfect character of the biblical histories from the literary and historical point of view must needs reconcile itself somehow with the use of them for religious purposes at the present day. It is necessary to be assured primarily of the good faith of the writers in the use they made of their materials; to determine whether this use of the materials has produced something which is of any special historical value; then, finally, to decide just what benefit religion is to derive from the finished product. The writer of this article has clearly set forth the literary limitations of the writers. It is not so clear that he has been so successful in uncovering the attitude of the writers toward the materials they had, regarded as history. If the chronicler made changes in matters of fact, it is not enough to say that the evidence goes to show that he was honest. It is just that evidence which we want. We desire an explanation of why he felt justified in making the change. If he *deliberately* altered what he knew to be true, because of some laudable religious motive, it is a case of acting on the principle of the end justifying the means—which by no means justifies him.

If it be pleaded that the literary and historical conscience of the time was not sensitive with respect to the use made of these traditional stories, that is a valid answer on one of two grounds, first, if evidence from other sources can be brought forward to substantiate it; or, second, if it be merely an inference from the present case. It is in vagueness on this point that we find a weakness of the present article. There is no adequate bridge thrown across the gap between the literary form of these books and their inspiration. Their form, content and character must go together. We cannot make them rough compilations, "child's histories"—and then cover the multitude of sins by asserting, without more adequate proof, that they reveal the divine plan of redemption, and hence are inspired. For the question is whether the facts of the books on which you base your argument for the history of redemption are real and essential facts, the institutions real institutions, characteristic of the life of the nation during the centuries of its history. The writings are all that we now have, not, *e. g.*, the ark itself or the dial of Ahaz. Is the author sawing off the limb on which he is stand-

ing, when he depreciates the form and historical content of the books which have so wonderful a religious element? This religious element may have been read into a series of scattered and non-representative, if not manufactured, facts. To draw the events from the literature, to see in the events thus drawn a unique religious element to assert the inspiration of the events, and therefore the inspiration of the literature — is reasoning around the bush. Why not first infer the inspiration of the writing from the unique religious insight disclosed in it, then argue to the inspiration of the writers and that of the history out of which they sprang?

G. S. G.

“UEBER BERECHTIGUNG DER KRITIK DES ALTEN TESTAMENTS.” By DR. AUGUST KÖHLER, University of Erlangen, pp. 68.

The bulk of the Pentateuch belongs to the post-Mosaic period; only a small portion of the legal sections are from the pen of Moses himself. The historical character of such portions as the narratives concerning creation, the fall, and the deluge is questionable. Errors in the historical, archæological, and similar sections of the Old Testament writings must be accepted. The church of our day can no longer refuse to look the scientific discussion of Old Testament problems square in the face. It would not do to place a system of religious or theological thought higher than the historical research of the Scriptures. To ignore or shut one's eyes to the critical problems does more harm than good. To do this only arouses the suspicion that the church has either not the courage or the means to meet the difficulties.

Among these, and as examples, mention can be made of the deluge, in regard to which the old traditional view is no longer tenable. It is true, that with God all things are possible, yet it requires the boldest of hypotheses to comprehend how on the basis of the Old Testament account of the deluge, salt and sweet water fishes could continue to live in the same sea for a whole year, or how in the ark a single window one ell high could admit enough air for all the inmates; or how the animals from the polar districts could live side by side with those from the tropics, the ice bear with the anthropomorphic ape, in the same temperature; or how Noah, with the seven members of his family, could provide for the wants of all the animals, which, according to Gen. 6: 21, had to be fed, or whence he gained the knowledge of the needs of each kind of animals; how these could be provided with food and drink, and their stalls be kept clean; how the needs of the carniferous animals for fresh meat could be satisfied in the ark.

The details of this narrative and of others are so past comprehension that, if we leave out of consideration the theory of the different strata in the narrative, it is almost impossible to understand the matter or to take them as the report of a real historical transaction.

In regard to the appeal to the authority of Christ and of the New Testament in defense of the historical correctness of these details it must be remembered just what Christ's position as authority in these matters was. Jesus indeed calls the Pentateuch the book of Moses, or in brief calls it “Moses”

(Mark 12:26; Luke 16:29); but he does so not in order to give his hearers information as to the author of these books, but in harmony with the designation of these books current in that day. It does not matter how this designation originated, or what Jesus' judgment may have been in regard to the correctness or incorrectness of this view; he could at that time make use of this view of the Pentateuch without any further considerations, just as we, *e. g.*, speak of the Apostles' Creed and of the Apostolic Constitutions, although we know full well that neither the one nor the other is the product of an apostle's pen. And he in fact was compelled to make use of this view, in case he wanted to make himself understood to the people of his day; otherwise he would, by imparting instructions on natural things, have stepped out of the sphere of his calling as the teacher of heavenly things. Who is the author of the Pentateuch can be determined only by an historical investigation and critical examination of the contents and form of these books; and the most important fact in reaching the conclusions in this matter is that the Pentateuch itself, not even at Ex. 17:14, or Deut. 31:9, 34 claims to have been written as a whole by Moses.

Essentially the same principles obtain in judging of Christ's attitude toward the book of Daniel, in Mark 24:15. As the prophetic book cited by him was currently ascribed to Daniel, this was naturally the term which he too made use of in speaking of this writing, no matter who the real author was. Even such passages as Matt. 22:41-46 (Mark 12:35-37, Luke 20:41-44) and Acts 2:24-36 cannot be used as evidence that Pss. 110 and 16 were written by David, even if in other respects the arguments of Jesus and of Peter are correct. In passing judgment on these passages the fact must never be lost sight of that the Psalter in the days of David was called "the Book of David" (2 Mac. 2:13) and for this reason every quotation from the Psalter could be called a word of David (*cf.* Acts 4:25 and Ps. 2:1; Heb. 4:7 and Ps. 95:7, 8, which are passages from anonymous psalms). The purpose of this question of Christ, Matt. 22:41-46, to show how the current view that the Messiah was to be the son of David, *i. e.*, his equal, could be harmonized with the word of the Psalter, according to which he was to be David's superior. The purpose of Peter, Acts 2:34-36, was not to show that Ps. 16:8-11 was a word of David, but to make this the basis of an argument concerning the resurrection of Christ.

This brochure, first published in its essentials as an article in the *Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrift*, is a sign of the times, and has created a sensation in conservative circles and the German Protestant church. Köhler, since Delitzsch's death, has been regarded as the chief protagonist of the conservative views, and in his *Lehrbuch der Bibl. geschichte Alten Testaments*, completed only recently, is conservative to the core. In the present article he yields much more than Delitzsch ever did, and this fact shows what inroads the newer critical views are making, even in the conservative ranks. What he says is not exactly new, but the fact that it is he who says it and defends it is significant.

G. H. S.

Book Reviews.

Geschichte der altchristlichen Litteratur in den ersten drei Jahrhunderten. Von D. GUSTAV KRÜGER, o. Professor der Theologie in Giessen, 1. und 2. Auflage (Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig, 1895; J. C. B. Mohr, 1895. Pp. xxii., 288; 8vo). M. 4.86, clothbound.¹

Six Lectures on the Ante-nicene Fathers. By FENTON JOHN ANTHONY HORT, D.D. (London and New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895. Pp. viii., 138; 12mo; Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.) Price, \$1.50.

One of the most useful and welcome contributions to the series of manuals of theological science is Krüger's *History of Early Christian Literature*. The book is professedly based upon Harnack's grand *Thesaurus*,² as far as material and early and mediæval literary *testimonia* are concerned, and yet it is entirely independent in its presentation of the subject-matter and the inferences drawn. Zahn's researches toward the history of early Christian literature are constantly referred to, a fact which makes upon the reader, from the very beginning, the impression of fairness and freedom from prejudice. For a teacher or independent student of early Christian literature, Harnack and Krüger are both to be heartily recommended as guides until the appearance of the second volume of Harnack's great work. What Krüger offers is in most instances reliable, precise, and expressed in briefest language, and yet never obscure.

The author begins with a brief historical survey of the work done thus far in the development of this special branch of literature, and points out the most important collections and critical editions of the works of the Fathers. His main subject he divides into three parts. I. The subapostolic literature (8-42); II. The literature of Gnosticism (43-59); III. The literature of the church.

I. The first division comprises four sections: 1. Epistles, including the epistles of the New Testament; epistle of Barnabas; Clement of Rome, 1st epistle; Ignatian epistles; Polycarp. The Pseudo-Pauline epistles to the Alexandrians and to the Laodiceans, as well as the apocryphal correspondence between Paul and the Corinthians, and Paul and Seneca, which Krüger himself assigns to the fourth century (p. 12), should rather have been placed into the third division in the section treating of the Acts of Paul and Thecla (p. 231), of which this correspondence is a part, as pointed out first by Th. Zahn,

¹ *Grundriss der Theologischen Wissenschaften*. Zweite Reihe, 3. Bd.

² See BIBLICAL WORLD, August 1894, pp. 153-55.

and in the main accepted by P. Vetter, *Der apokryphe 3. Korintherbrief*, 1894 (Tübingen, Programm). 2. Apocalypses: the Apocalypse of John; the Pseudo-Petrine apocalypse, found by M. Bouriant at Akhmim (of Jewish-Christian origin, and really belonging to the second division); the Shepherd of Hermas. 3. Historical books: the fragments of Papias; the small fragment of Papyrus Rainer (Luke 14:26-30; Matt. 26:30-4); the four gospels and the apocryphal gospels, many of which belong to a later period, and are, no doubt, classed here only for convenience sake; the Acts of the Apostles. 4. Doctrinal writings, including the Roman symbol; the preaching of Peter; the so-called second epistle of Clement and the Teaching of the Apostles. In his view of the New Testament writings the author shows a greater skepticism than does Jülicher in his well-known *Einleitung*.¹ Krüger accepts as undoubtedly genuine: 1 Thessalonians, Galatians, 1 and 2 Corinthians, Romans, Philippians, Philemon; inclines rather favorably toward the acceptance of Colossians, 2 Thessalonians and Ephesians (pp. 10, 11); rejects Hebrews, the Pastoral epistles and the seven Catholic epistles (p. 12); he denies the authorship by John the Apostle of the gospel and the epistles, as well as the Apocalypse; maintains that all three synoptic gospels were composed after the fall of Jerusalem (about 100 A. D.), and received their present shape hardly before the second half of the second century (pp. 30-1); while, according to his conception, the gospel of John, that grand poem of a genial mind, can never have been the work of the simple, plain man, the historic apostle John. The author was rather a Jewish Christian, educated in the traditions of Alexandrian philosophy of religion. It cannot be earlier than 100 A. D. The Acts of the Apostles are by the same author that wrote the third gospel, but written scarcely before the beginning of the second century (pp. 36-7). It would be unfair to enter into a detailed criticism of the author's position toward the origin and date of New Testament writings, as he gives merely hints, without detailed proofs.²

Whether all the literature crowded into the first division really belongs to Christian "Urliteratur" may well be doubted in some cases, as pointed out above, but on the whole it is a very fair statement. Hilgenfeld (*Zeitschrift f. wiss. Theol.*, Vol. 38, 318), and others have justly complained that Krüger has hardly taken notice of the Jewish Christian tendency and character of early Christian literature; that nothing is said about the Jewish Christian character of the epistle of James, the Gospel according to the Hebrews; the Shepherd of Hermas; and Hegesippus. Hilgenfeld maintains against Krüger that an anti-Pauline Jewish Christian spirit was tolerated in the Catholic church (*Grosskirche*) as late as the middle of the second century.

II. The second division, 43-59, is rather short considering the importance of the subject. It is divided into two unequal sections, of which the first, pp. 44-54, treats of the theological literature in favor and against Gnosticism, and the second, pp. 54-59, the gnostic Acts of the Apostles. Judaism in this

¹ See BIBLICAL WORLD, July 1895, pp. 76, 77.

² See also *The Seminary Magazine* (Louisville, Ky.) 1896, February-April.

section is represented by a brief paragraph of eight lines (p. 59) on Symmachus, the Ebionite. The corresponding section of Harnack's, in which he takes up the Gnostic, Marcionite, and Ebionite literature is more satisfactory. It is a syncretistic literature, whose common aim was the mixture of Christianity with foreign elements, Jewish or Pagan. To this division really belongs the Apocalypse of Peter and similar writings.

III. The third and by far most important division, pp. 60-245, is the main and best part of the book; it treats of the literature of the old Catholic church in her development toward independence in style and contents from all Greek and Roman literature. The five sections into which this part is divided treat, 1. of the patristic literature in the age of the apologists. It is an important section and exceedingly well done, the author's interest in that special literature being no doubt heightened by his excellent text-edition of Justin Martyr (1890). Next comes the anti-heretical literature, chiefly taken up by Hegesippus and Irenaeus. The anti-Pauline position of Hegesippus might have been alluded to more decidedly. The scanty remnants of episcopal letters are discussed at the end of this section. 2. Patristic literature in the time of the origin of theological science. Thus far literature was more of a practical nature, written either in defense of Christianity and Christians or for the purpose of catechetical instruction. Time had come when a more scientific treatment of important questions agitating the Christian mind was called for. Here centers the whole interest of the student of early Christian literature, and Krüger has done well in devoting some 130 pages to its treatment. Especially important is the author's treatment of Origen and Tertullian. 3-5. the other three sections are rather short, the author acknowledging his unexpected briefness; but as long as we have Harnack to refer to, we can easily overlook this apparent deficiency. In these sections are treated the legal literature of the early church, the didascalia, etc.; early legends and apocryphal acts, the pseudo-Clementine recognitions and homilies; and the accounts of Christian martyrdoms. Of great assistance are the two careful indexes and the chronological table appended. The selection of modern critical literature prefixed to each division and section and paragraph is very carefully done, and more complete than one might expect in a book of its size; equally well done are the general introductory paragraphs to each division and section. The Muratorian Canon, although mentioned in five instances, seems not to belong to pre-Eusebian literature, according to the author. On the whole we can heartily recommend this book, the usefulness of which we have tested abundantly as student and teacher.

A few weeks ago a posthumous little book of Professor F. J. Anthony Hort, the great New Testament scholar, was published by his son, bearing the title: *Six Lectures on the Ante-Nicene Fathers, i. e., the Christian writers of the early Christian centuries*. These lectures were delivered to the Clergy Training School at Cambridge, in the Lent Term of 1890. They are delightful reading; though popular in treatment and free from technical

terminology they show all the author's accustomed care and great learning. The fathers treated are: Clement of Rome and Hermas; Ignatius and Polycarp; Justin and Irenaeus; Hippolytus of Rome and Clement of Alexandria; Tertullian and Cyprian; Origen. The author desires to put before his readers these leading fathers of the earliest centuries as *living* men, and as the children of a particular age, rather than as the heads of the corresponding history of Christian literature, and to give an account of the purpose and character of their chief works, illustrated abundantly by translated extracts which may help towards the formation of individual impressions that should remain associated with their respective names. Incidentally the author gives his opinion on many other writings not belonging to the fathers of whom he treats, *e. g.*, the Teaching of the Apostles (5); the epistle of Barnabas (19), and others.

To the busy pastor and the interested layman this little book can highly be recommended, written so delightfully and charmingly, well thought, well wrought, well brought.

W. M.-A.

St. Paul the Traveler and the Roman Citizen. By W. M. RAMSAY, D.C.L., LL.D., Professor of Humanity, Aberdeen. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co. Pp. xvi. + 394. \$3.00.

It is to be regretted that Professor Ramsay could not have taken the time to give us a book instead of another combination of lectures. His volumes upon the *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* and the *Cities and Bishoprics of Lydia and Phrygia* show of what he is capable in genuinely scholarly lines of investigation. The present volume is, as he says, "worked up" from lectures delivered "before Harvard University, Johns Hopkins University, Union Seminary, and Mansfield College." It must therefore be compared with the *Church in the Roman Empire* rather than with those works just mentioned.

The method of the book is disappointing. Instead of any thoroughgoing historical arrangement like the standard lives of Paul, or a topical scheme like that of Weizsäcker, Professor Ramsay has chosen to give a running discussion of such portions of Acts as deal with incidents where he "stands on familiar ground" (p. 313). By this confession he absolves himself for his omission of the events occurring between the arrest of Paul at Jerusalem and his voyage to Rome. By the same token he should have omitted the first three chapters of his volume. But he prefers not "to mix up secondhand studies" (p. 313) with his other material. One is tempted to say that in several cases a little infusion of "secondhand studies" would have given value to the work. But however one may feel about that, it is a thousand pities that the book is,—to use a favorite word of the author,—composed of "scraps."

Professor Ramsay has a theory about the composition of Acts. That we

knew from *The Church in the Roman Empire*, but most readers of that work were left in some dubiety as to what that theory was. In the present volume Professor Ramsay endeavors to clear up this uncertainty. As a result we have chapter I upon the Acts of the Apostles, and another, the last in the book, upon the Composition and Date of Acts (p. 383-390). It is possible that if Professor Ramsay had judged it wise to yield so far to human weakness as to insert an index, the student who sought further information in the same line might acquire it without reading the book through. As it is, a careful reading of the work discovers in numerous sentences and paragraphs, under all possible headings, a theory that may be stated something like this: Acts was written by Luke who used (a) the "travel document" composed of "his own written notes (supplemented by memory and the education of further experience and reading and research)," that is, his diary and notes of conversation with Paul and others; (b) for the first half of Acts in general information derived from various sources, always the best available (Peter, Mark, Philip); (c) miscellaneous sources like Paul's letters, and popular traditions some of the latter being of questionable value. All this material he worked up in accordance with clear literary plans and almost without exception shows himself a skilful historian. "Every minute fact stated in Acts has its own significance."

Professor Ramsay has much interesting information about Luke. He is a Macedonian (p. 203) who is fond of the sea (p. 124), although a stranger to the eastern end of the Mediterranean (p. 317). He is a historian of the first rank (p. 127) but has no clear sense for time (p. 301) nor any regard for Roman forms and names (p. 315). But no information is quite so sensational as that (p. 203) Luke is the man from Macedonia (Acts 16:9); and that he accompanied Paul to Rome in the character of a slave (p. 316). His admiration for Luke is boundless, and the pages are few in which he does not call attention to some new evidence of his hero's historical tact and sensitive literary taste. Altogether this enthusiasm is quite refreshing after Weizsäcker's half-hearted admissions of lucid historical intervals in Acts. And yet one queries whether sufficient allowance is made for the character of the first half of the book. Professor Ramsay gives no evidence of any attempts at painstaking criticism. A mere counting of participles and infinitives would have shown him that the "travel document" is tolerably free from Hebraistic influences dominating the rest of the Acts. Nor does he seriously confront the problem as to whether or not the author of the "travel document" is also the author of chapters 1-12. Two other questions of importance are also unanswered: (1) Are all the speeches of Acts by the same hand? (2) Is the "travel document" itself a unit? The latter question is suggested (p. 273) but is dismissed with scant discussion as an "unsolved difficulty." A study of the grammatical characteristics of the section would have led to a less absolute statement.

Two of other matters call especially for attention. First, the author's use

of Codex Bezae. It may be that this strange codex has not been accorded sufficient attention by editors, but the use made of it by Professor Ramsay impresses one not under like infatuation as arbitrary. At one moment he is using it as a foil to the accuracy of Luke; at another he is discovering in it a text more correct than that of the great uncials (*e. g.*, 278 n., 242). Secondly, the identification of the visit to Jerusalem, Galatians 2, 1-10, with that of Acts 11:30 and 12:25. This is not altogether a novelty, but it has never been urged more earnestly. On the whole, it may yet appear that Professor Ramsay has accomplished another *coup* after the fashion of South Galatia. With all its difficulties the view certainly makes some of the later history more natural. But one should distinguish between the two sorts of arguments the author has used. As an archæologist Professor Ramsay is for more authoritative than as a critic or an exegete.

One great value of the book lies in its intuitions. Its author is wonderfully quick to see implications and relations. Whether one accepts the view or not, one cannot withhold admiration for the power to manufacture hypotheses seen in his grounds for dating of the book in the time of Domitian (pp. 123, 386-389); the interpretation of Paul's exploiting of the imperial administration (pp. 125, 134, 255); the discovery of a trial before a University Senate in Paul's experience on the Areopagus (p. 245.) But this power is liable to mistakes, and certainly some of Professor Ramsay's explications of Acts at first glance seem a tribute rather to his ingenuity than to his judgment. One would like his authority for his belief that the Jews at Corinth were a "self-administering community" (p. 259); and that the grain ships from Alexandria were managed by the Roman government something after the fashion of a navy (pp. 323-325).

Yet after all, one must accord the book hearty praise. There is hardly a page in which the reader will not discover valuable hints or facts that will aid in appreciating Acts. Taken altogether, the volume is wonderfully stimulating and of value, especially in steadying criticism of Acts. As a literary production, it is disappointing, it is true, and as an account of Paul's travels it not only is sketchy but it has fallen into the evil ways of any book "worked up" from lectures by the champion of a theory. But nevertheless, we can forgive much in so stalwart a champion for rational criticism and so warm an admirer of Paul. And with all its defects it is a book that will immensely repay reading, for its very weaknesses are those of genius and of affluent scholarship.

S. M.

The Egypt of the Hebrews and Herodotus. By the REV. A. H. SAYCE.
New York: Macmillan & Co., 1895. Pp. xvi.+342. \$2.00.

Professor Sayce makes books with great rapidity, and if their quality were equal to their quantity, the reader would find no fault. It must be confessed, unfortunately, that the capital with which the professor of Assyriology at Oxford deals does not seem to be very great. There is little that is new in this

book. The same old friends that have greeted us in his *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monument*, in his *Patriarchal Palestine*, and in the prefaces of the new series of *The Records of the Past*, as well as in the various contributions which he has made to periodical literature attacking the methods and results of the higher critics from the point of view of archaeology, turn up again here with the same freshness. Here is again the discovery of Ebed Tob and his relation to Melchisedek, *abrek* which the Egyptians cried before Joseph, and its derivation from *abrikku* (*abarakku*), the immense significance of Kirjath Sepher around which the widespread culture of Canaan gathers, the same untiring emphasis upon the Semitic character of the reformation of Amenhotep IV. and other old favorite new discoveries that have done valiant service in Mr. Sayce's preceding volumes. Even if all these reiterated assertions were true, they would be somewhat wearisome by this time, but unfortunately they are unproved assertions in many cases, and one feels like protesting against the incessant repetition of these things in books which are given taking titles, but to which the contents do not correspond.

This book proposes to follow the history of the Hebrews and the narrative of Herodotus so far as these concern and come into connection with the history and antiquities of ancient Egypt. To discuss the Egyptian material of Herodotus is indeed something new and desirable, and the task is excellently performed, though its service to travelers in Egypt at the present day for whom the author claims to have prepared it, does not appear to us to be very great. The book is written with more than Mr. Sayce's usual rapidity, and the slips in the statements of matters of fact are not infrequent. On page 17 Mr. Sayce asserts that Josephus agrees with the statement of Africanus that the Hyksos were in Egypt nine hundred and fifty-three years. This is directly contrary to what Josephus says, as he gives the time as five hundred and eleven years. The mother of Amenhotep III. is said to have been an Asiatic. The various references to Shalem in the lists of towns captured by Egyptian kings are referred to Jerusalem. There is extraordinary faith in the absolute historical character of these lists and not a few fine theories are based on their uncertain information by Mr. Sayce. Kadesh on the Orontes is said to be the southern capital of the Hittites. Ramses III. is said to have fought the sea people in Egypt. Bes is described as a warrior god that came from the coast of Arabia. All these things are matters which are either quite unknown, or uncertain, or the contrary of them is more likely. Two misprints are probable: that on page 79 (line 8 from bottom) where "western" should be "eastern" and *vice versa* (in line 5), and that on page 268, where Osorkon II. should be Osorkon III.

There are some things that will be interesting to biblical students in this book. Mr. Sayce holds that Abraham entered Egypt in the time of the Hyksos kings, two centuries after their conquest of the land. This would, according to his chronology, bring Abraham there in 2350 B. C. He holds that the sons of Jacob came into Egypt at the beginning of the last Hyksos

dynasty, about B. C. 1700. This leaves a period of about six hundred and fifty years to be occupied by the lives of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, which cannot, according to biblical chronology, cover any more than two hundred and ten years. How Mr. Sayce would explain this we do not know. He holds that the Hebrews could not have entered Canaan until the last days of Ramses III., or, even, after that monarch; that the forty years of the wandering are an indefinite period. Perhaps the most helpful chapter in the book is that upon the condition of the Jews in the age of the Ptolemies. On the whole we cannot recommend the purchase of this book to those who have Mr. Sayce's former volumes. G. S. G.

LITERARY NOTES.

THE F. H. REVELL CO. (Chicago, \$.75) has just issued in an attractive form the addresses delivered by Rev. Andrew Murray at the Northfield Conference under the title *The Master's Indwelling*. American readers will be glad of this opportunity to get an authorized edition of these impressive and earnest addresses.

ONE of the most attractive books of the month is *The Evolution of Church Music* by Rev. J. Landon Humphreys (New York: Scribner. \$1.75 net). And its contents are in keeping with its mechanical makeup. As might be expected, the author is by no means enthusiastic over popular American psalmody, though recognizing the great service to popular worship of Mr. Sankey and similar composers. It would pay any pastor to read this little book, which, with excellent taste, is not written in technical language, and which is full of enthusiasm for really noble music.

ALICE GARDNER in JULIAN, PHILOSOPHER AND EMPEROR, AND THE LAST STRUGGLE OF PAGANISM AGAINST CHRISTIANITY (New York: Putnam's) has given us the best treatment of Julian (that much hated, much slandered and much erring man) which we have at present in English. It reveals to us the intense enthusiasm of the Emperor for old Greek thought, and the extraordinary short-sightedness of his attitude in relation to Christianity. The fact comes out clearly that the greatest blessing which ever happened to Julian was his early death.

IN his OLD TESTAMENT HISTORY FOR JUNIOR CLASSES (Part I., *From the Creation to the Settlement in Palestine*. Clarendon Press. 259 pp. \$.60), the Rev. T. H. Stokoe, D.D., has made a praiseworthy effort to produce a text-book for the study of the Old Testament, but only to fail dismally. Why anyone should wish to reprint passages from the Bible on one side of the page and make notes on the other, and think that he has thereby produced a compact and helpful manual of Old Testament History we cannot imagine. There is no light or help in this book.

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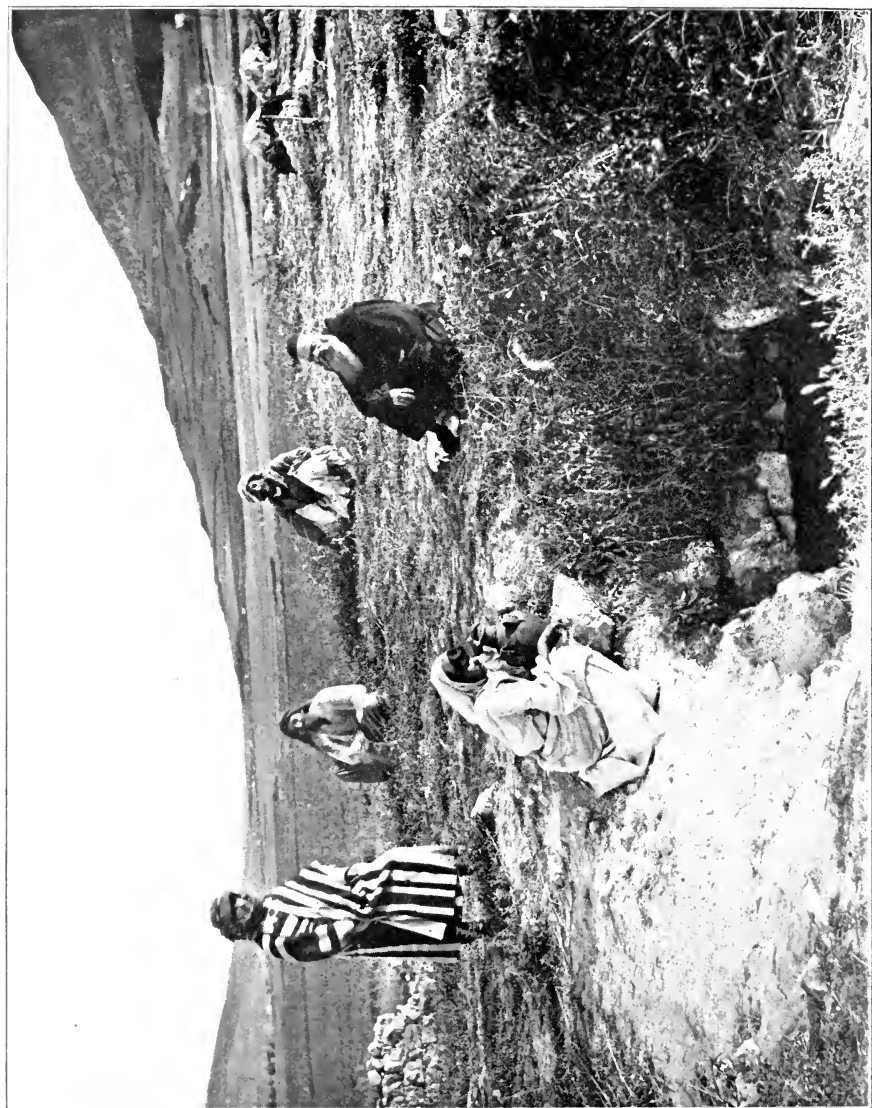
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JACOB'S WELL. (See page 382.)

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VII.

MAY, 1896

NUMBER 5

IN the April number of this Journal two forms of loyalty to truth were commented upon. It was confessed that human nature being what it is, there is little hope of the union of these two forms in one person, but rather it is to be expected that humanity will always take sides on the question of loyalty to old truth or zeal for new truth. Little harm were done if that were all! For, woeful as is division of the fair body of truth, it is not without advantage that the excellencies of each several part have their ardent admirers whose emphatic laud arouses attention. The real harm lies in the fact that far more than simple division appears. Rather the two sides engage at once in hostile and violent recriminations. Admiration for one's own view shades off into denunciation of the other's position. Such denunciation can only succeed in justifying itself—and this is the melancholy thing!—by raising false issues, since truth can never be essentially contradictory to itself. There must be mistake, ignorance, misconception somewhere, when truth is assailed in the interests of truth. What an amount of energy is worse than wasted in such conflicts.

ONE need not shrink from saying that such an attitude is taken most frequently by lovers of old and well-established views. It is more difficult for the lover of the old to appreciate the new, than for the one zealous for the new to recognize the claims of the old. The latter is not indeed without his occasional slips in this regard, but, on the whole, the experience through which he passes in his search for the undiscovered but discoverable treasures gives him occasion to estimate the value of that which those before him have secured. His failures, his falls, his weary wanderings on trackless wastes, tend to teach him humility. But the lover of the old has no such testing. He receives the treasure, and needs but to assimilate and defend it. It comes with all the glory and sanctity of the past. He has not had to toil and be discouraged in its acquisition. Hence it is easier for him, with his secure and certain possession, to decry the less glorious and less definite acquisitions of his fellow-worker. It is, therefore, not to be wondered at that those who raise these false issues, who cry out in loud warnings against the dangerous tendencies of the investigations at which other men are working, are found for the most part among the ranks of the lovers of truths already established.

IT may not be unprofitable to notice some examples of this error, or rather, blunder, of raising false issues. It is a common saying appearing in the columns of our religious newspapers at the present time that "man is a little lower than the angels according to David, but a little higher than the animals according to Darwin."

SOME EXAMPLES:
1. DAVID AND
DARWIN

This epigram is thought to be sufficient by its antithesis of David and Darwin to bring disgrace upon the modern scientific theory of evolution. Without doubt it is clever, but the artful language of controversy is not always the sincere declaration of truth. What is here so shrewdly contrasted need not, after all, be regarded as a contradiction. There is a very real sense in which these two statements are at perfect harmony and, indeed,

complementary. It all depends upon the purpose that is had in mind. David saw man in his ideal nature and destiny, as the son of God, as the heir of the ages. Darwin was studying him in his beginnings, was asking after his origin, not his destiny; and it is not difficult to see how man in his origin may be only a little higher than the animals, while in his destiny a little lower than the angels. Indeed, it may with reason be asserted that the conception given us by David of the glory of man is exalted and magnified by the Darwinian view of his beginnings. That man began so low, that he has even now risen so high, lends all the more emphasis to the splendid ideal picture that the Psalmist gives of the future to be attained. Now, we are not in these remarks entering the lists in behalf of the Darwinian hypothesis. We are simply endeavoring to illustrate, in the sphere of religious thought, how easily a false issue may be raised, whereby views are made to seem quite out of harmony, which, after all, may be of the greatest service the one to the other, and belong to the one harmonious, consistent sphere of truth.

A SIMILAR illustration can be found in the sphere of biblical science. Just as easily one constructs some antithetic statement such as this: "The Bible is inspired of God, according to Paul, but it is the work of ignorant and unskillful redactors according to Wellhausen."

2. PAUL AND
WELLHAUSEN

Thus critical processes and results are placed in sharp antagonism to the nobler conceptions of the great Christian apostle. But may it not in this case also be said that not only is there no necessary conflict between these two statements, but that they may prove after all to be complementary to one another? The point of view in each case is different. Paul looks at the finished product and at the work which it has accomplished in the world, at the spirit which breathes forth from it, at the destiny which awaits it. The critical scholar studies it from the scientific point of view, its beginnings, its form, the characteristics and knowledge of the men who were the instruments of its production, the phenomena of the periods in which its particular

books were produced, the various processes through which it has passed. And when we realize all that is involved in the latter, need we feel that the argument for the former is weakened? No; rather there is strong ground for holding that the argument is all the more cogent. That the treasure was preserved in earthen vessels, can make the miracle of the preservation all the greater; that the truth was conveyed through such humble means may give to the divine character of the process and the result all the more significance.

BUT it is not necessary to multiply words on this theme. One cannot but lament the frequency with which this impotent and senseless kind of warfare is waged. Why, after all, should it not be possible to unite in one the two attitudes of mind which appear thus so sadly in antagonism? Is it not worth while to strive for the attainment of that spirit which, with a firm grasp of truth already gained, is ready to adjust itself to that which is coming into view. All life in which there is growth may be defined as a continuous adjustment to new phenomena, new experiences, new tests, new duties. Thus the child grows into the man, the learner into the teacher, the servant into the master. Why should we not begin to realize this in matters of religious thought and theological inquiry? The surest and largest progress in that sphere awaits him who knows how to solve with the least difficulty the problem of adjustment. At the same time he is most effectually helping on, so far as in him lies, the forward movement of the age that now is into the brighter age of the fuller knowledge of truth that is to come. He is the really profitable servant of God and men.

THE PROBLEM
ONE OF
ADJUSTMENT

THE PROBLEM OF WELL-BEING AND SUFFERING IN THE OLD TESTAMENT.

II.

By the REVEREND HARLAN CREELMAN, PH.D.
Yale University.

Modifications of the principle of retribution.—Exceptions to the principle.—Their purpose.—Retribution and responsibility.—Suffering and the Kingdom of God.—Progress in doctrine.

4. WHILE the principle of retributive justice, according to which well-being is conditioned upon righteousness and suffering upon sin¹ is carried throughout the Old Testament, there are also certain facts or principles recognized which may modify the strict exercise of this fundamental doctrine. The following points will now be considered in this connection:

First of all, the compassionate and forgiving nature of God in accordance with which he bears with man in his sin and seeks to turn him from it; and who, when punishment is inflicted upon men for their sin, is ready to restore again their well-being, provided they repent and turn to him, *e. g.*, Pss., 103:10; 78:38, 39; 145:8; 130:3 f.; Hosea 11:8 f.; Isa. 1:9; Ezek. 38:10, 11, 17; 18:23, 31, 32; Lam. 1:20 f.; 2:19, 20; 3:20 f., 40 f.; 5:19; Job 11:5 f. (cf. vss. 12–20); Zech. 3:1 f.; 8:11 f. Also Zech. 9:8; 10:6; also Zech. 12:10 f.; Joel 2:13.²

Man's inherent weakness and sinful disposition are also occasionally referred to as a cause or reason for modifying the strict exercise of the principle of retribution. Thus, Pss. 103:13, 14; 51:5; 78:39; 89:47 f.; Pss. 39; 143:2. In JE Gen. 8:21; Job 7:11 f.; 14:15–22; Isa. 57:16.

Secondly, God's covenant relation with his people, on the basis of which they stood in a different position to him from other nations (a fact which is mentioned very frequently in the Old Testament, especially in those portions written from the legal and priestly standpoints), may also be mentioned as modi-

¹ Reference, perhaps, should also be made to Ezek. 32:17 f.

² God's benevolence towards outside nations is especially set forth in the Book of Jonah.

fying in measure the strict exercise of the principle of retribution.

But besides the general bearing of this fact, more especially those references which have already been given in another connection are applicable here, namely, that the well-being of the people of Israel was sometimes maintained or promoted, when they deserved punishment, or at least were not worthy of blessings, lest if they be treated according to strict justice, the character of God would be misunderstood by others in view of his special relation to Israel (for references, compare above, p. 7).

Thirdly, a few references are found indicating that the presence of the righteous among the wicked may serve to keep off deserved suffering or promote well-being; *cf.* (in JE) Gen. 18:32; 39:3-5; Job 22:30; 1 Isa. 65:8.

Fourthly, the teaching is also found that the well-being of posterity may depend on the righteousness of ancestors, or at least be favorably affected by this fact; or that even unworthy descendants may be favored on account of covenant relations established with their fathers. Ex. 32:13, 14 (JE). Thus, Deut. 9:4, 5; 7:7, 8; 1 Kgs. 15:4, 5; 11:12, 13, 34; Lev. 36:44, 45 (P).

Here may be included as well the references to posterity sharing in the blessings of ancestors.¹ Thus in JE Gen. 26:3-5, 24; 7:1; Deut. 1:36; 5:29; 12:28; 30:19; Jer. 32:39; also in the priestly narrative of the Hexateuch (P), Gen. 17:7 f.; 19:29; 6:18; 1 Chr. 17:11 f.; 28:8; Pss. 37:26; 25:13; 69:36; 102:28; 103:17, 18; 106:31.

Fifthly, the well-being of Israel is mentioned in one or two instances as connected with the wickedness of other nations.²

¹ *Cf.* Ezekiel's doctrine of individualism, or individual responsibility (Chap. 18) which is directly opposed to the above conception. His teaching is that a wicked son of a righteous person is punished and a righteous son of a wicked person is rewarded irrespective of ancestral character.

² Another exception to the general principle, or modification of it, which however, is more apparent than real is found in the occasional representation of God as the cause or author of the evil in man, on account of which suffering comes to him. Such expressions as these may naturally be interpreted in the light of the Old Testament spirit, which not unfrequently overlooks secondary causes (*e. g.*, overlooking natural

Thus, Deut. 9:4, 5, the land is to be given Israel not on account of their righteousness, but on account of the covenant with their fathers, and also on *account of the wickedness of the Amorite*. Cf. Gen. 15:16 (JE).

5. The marked exceptions to the principle of retributive justice, how met or how explained will now be considered.

And first of all the cases in which the wicked were seen to be prosperous. The following explanations or solutions are found.

a. The prosperity of the wicked is of short duration. Thus in Pss. 92:7, "When the wicked spring as the grass, And when all the workers of iniquity do flourish; It is that they shall be destroyed forever." Cf. Pss. 37:1, 2, 7, 10, 35 f.; Prov. 24:19-22; 23:17, 18; Amos 5:11; Jer. 12:1, compared with 17:11. The same explanation given in the book of Job by the three friends,¹ Eliphaz 5:3; cf. 15:20 f. Bildad 8:15-19; Zophar 20:4 f.; cf. vss. 12-29; Hab. 2:2 f. and chap. 3.

b. Another explanation of this exception to the law of retribution is, that though the wicked are prosperous their end is marked by great exhibitions of divine displeasure.² This is the solution found in Psalm 73. The great perplexity of the Psalmist in reference to the prosperity of the wicked, who seemingly do not have troubles as other men, is solved when he visited the sanctuary (vs. 17), "Surely thou settest them in slippery places;

law, cf. Ps. 29), and attributes all efficiency and action to God alone. Moreover in no case is it represented that God causes the righteous or innocent to sin. Sin apparently is implied as existing already in those in reference to whom the divine causation is predicted. Thus the exception is apparent rather than real. Cf. (in D) Deut. 2:30; Josh. 11:20; 2 Sam. 16:11; 24:1 f.; 1 Kings 22:19 f.; Prov. 16:4; Isa. 6:9; 29:10; Ezek. 14:9; 20:25; chap. 38; Isa. 63:17; cf. 64:5; 57:11. In P Ex. 14:17; cf. 7:3; 9:12; cf. Joel. 3.

¹Job opposes his friends' theory that the destruction of the wicked comes suddenly (especially 24:18-21); they are prospered and their end is natural (vss. 22-24), Cf. 21:7 f.

²Psalm 49 should also be mentioned in this connection, where the thought is that the worldly prosperity of the wicked gives them no advantage in death (vss. 6-14; 16-20). The fate of the righteous is contrasted with the wicked (vss. 14, 15). The thought of these verses is not entirely clear. It may refer only to their deliverance from the penal death of the wicked, or it may include more than this—the good they have in conscious communion and favor with God.

Thou castest them down to destruction (in their latter end); . . . they become a desolation in a moment, They are utterly consumed with terrors," etc. (vss. 18 f.). *Cf.* 55:15. *Cf.* a similar solution presented by Job's friends, Job 18:11 f.; 20:23 f.

A second exception to the law of retribution is that relating to the suffering of the righteous or innocent. This embraces a wider range of references than the first mentioned. It is an exception which is mentioned with or without comment from a very early period of Old Testament thought.

The following subdivisions may be made :

a. The references to the suffering of the innocent where apparently no attempt is made to offer an explanation.

Thus (in JE) Josh. 7:2 f., 25, the sin of Achan which brings suffering upon innocent Israel as a whole. *Cf.* Josh. 14:8; Num. 32:9 f., 15; *cf.* 13:27 f.; 14:3, 4, 23; 11:11-15; Gen. 4:8; 20:9, 17. Again in 1 Sam. 22:17-20; 2 Sam. 3:32, 34; 1 Kings 21:1-16; 22:24 f.; also 2:26 b.; Jer. 12:4; 26:20-23; *Cf.* 41:1 f.; 19:4 b.; 22:13-17; 2:30-34; Ezek. 21:3-5; 20:47; 9:4; 13:22; 1 Chron. 2:7.¹

b. In certain instances a protest is offered in connection with the exception referred to. Thus in Gen. 18:25 (JE) Abraham is represented as protesting against the destruction of the righteous with the wicked, in these words: "That be far from thee to do after this manner to slay the righteous with the wicked, that so the righteous should be as the wicked: shall not the judge of all the earth do right?" *Cf.* 2 Sam. 24:17; Job 21:19, 20; Num. 16:20-22 (P); 1 Chron. 20:17; *cf.* 2 Chron. 24:21, 22.

c. A common explanation of this exception or an excepted principle in connection with it, is the oneness of interest or relation which existed, according to the Old Testament conception, between children and parents, or between king and people. The children of wicked parents were liable to suffer; people suffered for the sins of their leaders. This principle was firmly established in the thought of the Jewish people even down to a late period of the Old Testament.² *E.g.*, Ps. 37:28, "the seed of

¹ Possibly Deut. 3:26 and Zech. 12:10 should also be included under this heading.

² *Cf.* reference in the New Testament to this same conception, John 9:2.

the wicked shall be cut off." In the book of Job, Eliphaz says, 5:4 f.: The children of the wicked "are far from safety, and they are crushed in the gate." Cf. Zophar 20:10;¹ cf. also Pss. 79:8; 109:9 f.; in JE Ex. 20:5, 6; 34:7; 2 Sam. 21:1 f. (cf. 1 Sam. chap. 31); 2 Sam. 24:17 b.; 1 Kings 11:11, 12, 35; 12:15 f.; 14:15, 16; 15:27, 30, 34; 16:2 f., 13 f., 19, 26; 21:22, 27 f.; 2 Kings 9:24 f.; 10:7-14; 20:18; 21:9, 11 b.; 16 b.; 23:26; 24:3; Hosea 1:4; Isa. 7:10-17; 39:7, 8; Jer. 32:18; 14:20; 18:21; 16:10 f.; 15:4;² Isa. 14:21; Lam. 5:7; 1 Chron. 10:6, 7; 2 Chron. 28:19; 24:18, 23; 21:11 (?).³

d. The sufferings which the righteous undergo are in some cases regarded as a means of further purification, or as a trial of faith, *e.g.*, Ps. 66:10-12, "Thou, O God, hast proved us: Thou hast tried us as silver is tried. Thou broughtest us into the net; . . . We went through fire and through water; but thou broughtest us out into a wealthy place (abundance)," cf. 105:18, 19; 11:5; 131:1-3;⁴ Deut. 8:2, 3, 5, 15 f.; Prov. 24:15, 16 (cf. 24:10); 3:11, 12.

This is also one of the lessons of the book of Job. The prologue (chaps. 1, 2) shows that suffering may come upon the innocent as a trial to their faith. And Job, the hero of the poem, who amid his perplexity which at time almost drove him to despair, nevertheless "fought his doubts and gathered strength," came forth from his trial a much stronger and richer character.

e. Another explanation given is that if the righteous have suffering, the period of its duration is limited. This principle is especially found in the Psalter. Thus 34:19, "Many are the afflictions of the righteous: But Jehovah delivereth him out of them all" (cf. also vss. 4, 17, 22, contrasted with vs. 21). 71:20; 37:24 and many others either expressed or implied (*e.g.*, 143:1 f.; 70:5; 120:1 f., etc.). In JE Gen. 31:42 (cf. vss. 36, 40);

¹ Cf. Job's reply to their position (21:19, 20).

² Cf. with this 31:29 where a new principle for the ideal future is stated.

³ In some of the above cases individual sin as well as that of ancestors or rulers may be implied. In the following two references it is explicitly stated: Isa. 65:6, 7; Lev. 26:39 (P).

⁴ Cf. Ps. 141:5.

29:32; 35:3; 48:16; 16:6-11 f.; 21:17; 15:13-16; Ex. 1:8 f.; 3:7, 9; 18:9; Num. 20:15, 16; Hab. 2:2 f. In P Ex. 2:23 b-25; 6:5, 6.^{1, 2}

f. The principle of compensation includes a wide range of references; that is, the righteous may have suffering but in due time a compensation of some kind will come to them. This is set forth very clearly in the book of Job. Job in the end, after all his sufferings, receives twofold more in the way of material and social good than he had at first (42:10 f.); the thought apparently being that this came to him as a compensation for his suffering and loss.³

Cf. the experience of Joseph in (JE) Gen. 39:21 (*cf.* 49:23, 24), chap. 41 (espec. vss. 50-52); Gen. 15:14. Also in Deut. 26:6-9; 8, 2, 3, 5, 16.

Cf. David's sufferings but in the end receiving the kingdom, 1 Sam. chap. 18 f., especially 2 Sam. 4:9 (*Cf.* 1 Sam. 20:1; 26:24; also 2 Sam. 22:7 f., 17, 20, 28, 33, 44, 49; 1 Sam. 12:8; Isa. 66:5; 51:7, 8 (*Cf.* 54:7; also 52:3-6. As applied to the servant, 52:13; 53:12 f.; 50:4 f.⁴

In this connection the experience of Jeremiah may be also given. He was one who suffered from the opposition and persecution of his people during his ministry (11:19; 15:10, 15, 18; 12:5, 6; 18:19 f.; 20:7 f.; 37:18; 23:9 f.; 10:19), but in compensation he in turn was upheld and strengthened by Jehovah's promised presence (1:19; 15:11; *cf.* 39:11 f.). *Cf.* also the experience of Ezekiel in 2:6; 3:25; *cf.* 4:4 f.

g. The most significant example of this exception is found in Isaiah 53, where the suffering of the innocent "Servant" is described as having the force of vicarious atonement for others.

¹*Cf.* Prov. 24:15, 16 (?); Mic. 7:7 f. (?).

²Here may be noted the statement in Isa. 57:1, 2, of the premature removal of the righteous by death in order to escape from greater sufferings if they had been permitted to live.

³*Cf.* Ps. 66:10-12; Ps. 18:7 f. 16, 19, 27, 32, 43, 48.

⁴The same fact of compensation after suffering is applied in some instances to those who have suffered for their sin, *e. g.*, Isa. 61:7; 57:17, 18; 60:10; 43:25 f.; 44:21-23; 54:8 f. (*Cf.* 40:2; 51:12 f.; 65:8-10); Zech. 1:12 f., 17; 8:6 f., 12 f. Also Zech. 9:11 f.; 10:6 f.; Ps. 102:13.

Though this doctrine is in no other place in the Old Testament so clearly or fully stated as in this chapter in Deutero-Isaiah, there are nevertheless various foreshadowings of this wonderful truth which can be traced all through the Old Testament literature.

As distantly related to this principle the references to the intercession of one righteous person or persons on behalf of the wicked may be included. Thus (in JE) Abraham's intercession for Sodom and others of a similar character, Gen. 18:23 f.; Ex. 32:11 f., 30 f.; Num. 12:12 f.; 14:11 f.; 21:7. Cf. Ps. 106:23; Amos 7:1 f.; Job 42:8, 10.¹

Again, in the Psalter, the representation of innocent suffering, from being identified with God's cause, points in the same direction. Thus: "for thy sake are we killed all the day long" (44:9 f., 17-22 f.;) "for thy sake I have borne reproach" (69:4, 7-9). Cf. 89:38 f., 49 f.; 129:1 f.; 59:3, 4; 94:5-7, 21; 42:3, 9, 10; 43:1, 2; 74:1 f., 18 f.; 79:1 f., 10 f.; 83:1-8, 12; 137:1 f.; 38:20; cf. Jer. 15:15.

The thought in Psalm 22 marks a further progress. The deliverance of the one who suffers in his righteousness² (in answer to his prayer, vss. 1-21) serves as a witness to God's character, which encourages those who already know him, and will lead others even to the ends of the earth to turn to him (vss. 22-31). But here there is no *definite* reference to vicarious suffering. Cf. Isa. 49:8.

The references to the suffering which the prophets feel in spirit on account of their deep sympathy and love for their people, at the prospect of punishment and misfortune coming upon their nation,³ may also be included here as having a general bearing on the doctrine. Cf. 2 Kings 8:11, 12; Isa. 22:4, 5; 21:3; 21:10 (?); Micah 1:8 f.; Jer. 8:18-21; 9:1, 10, 17; 13:17;

¹ It is also to be noted that the condition of wickedness may sometimes be so great that the intercession of the righteous will be of no avail, cf. Jer. 15:1; Ezek. 14:14 f., 20.

² The individual here probably stands for ideal Israel, as the Servant in Isa. 53. Verse 22 shows clearly the distinction between the sufferer and the rest of his people.

³ Cf. the same spirit also manifested in reference to suffering coming upon other nations: e. g., Isa. 15:5; 16:9, 11; Jer. 48:31, 36 f.; Ezek. 32:1-16.

14:17, 18; 4:19. Cf. also 45:3 f.; Ezek. 9:8; 11:13; chaps. 19; 21:6, 7, 12, 14; Isa. 24:16.

But the nearest approach to the completed conception of this profound doctrine is found in connection with the suffering of the prophets in behalf of their people. This fact is especially noticeable in the labors of Jeremiah and Ezekiel, who suffered indeed for righteousness' sake in seeking to stem the evils of their day, but who were, nevertheless, persecuted and despised for their efforts by those whose truest well-being they were seeking to promote. They thus exemplified in a striking manner the principle of suffering righteousness, and in a certain true sense in their suffering bore the sin of their people.¹

It is, however, in the well-known fifty-third chapter of Isaiah that the culmination of the various previous hints and the fulfillment of whatever gleams and foreshadowings of this doctrine may have preceded it are found. The innocent "Servant" (who most probably refers to the righteous portion of the nation in exile), whose suffering was misunderstood by his people—it being attributed by them to his own sin—was in reality suffering vicariously for *their* sin, and by his death was making a trespass-offering (*āshām*) for them (vs. 10), by means of which their well-being was to be promoted.

6. It will now be in place to notice the effects produced or ends realized by the different exceptions to the principle of retribution which have been considered, namely when the righteous have suffering and the wicked prosperity. And here should be included not only the instances which belong directly to personal experience, but also those which refer to the observance of these exceptions among others, as, for example, in the book of Ecclesiastes.

a. One of the effects produced by these exceptions was to arouse a spirit of protest in the minds of the thoughtful. Thus Abraham is represented as protesting against the righteous suffering the same fate as the wicked in Sodom (Gen. 18:25). As the different references included under this point have already

¹ Cf. in this connection the symbolical action of bearing the iniquity of Israel and Judah in Ezek. 4:4 f.

been given in another place (under *b*, p. 18) it will not be necessary to give them again.

b. But in addition from such exceptions there arose a spirit of perplexity, questioning, discouragement or extreme doubt; or it might appear in the form of a notable absence of enthusiastic hope and cheerful outlook upon life itself with its various pursuits and duties.¹

Many references showing the despondency and doubt which arose from this cause are found in the Psalter. Psalm 73 describes the feelings of perplexity of one on account of the prosperity of the wicked while he had suffering as his portion (vs. 3 f., 14). The effect of this upon him is thus expressed: "But as for me, my feet were almost gone: My steps had well nigh slipped" (vs. 2). He is led to exclaim: "Surely, in vain have I cleansed my heart, And washed my hands in innocency" (vs. 13). *Cf.* 77:2 c., 7-9; 88; 22:1 f.; 38:1 f., 21; 60:1, 10; 108:11; 10:1; 35:17 f.; 42; 43; and others.

A good illustration is found in the book of Job in the effect of his suffering upon him. He is despondent (3:1 f.; 6:1 f.; 8 f.; 7:15, 16; 10:18-22); he doubts God's just rule of the world (10:3 f.; 9:22, 23; 12:6; 21:7 f., 17, 18, 23 f.; 24:2 f., 13 f.); he charges God with injustice and hostility in his dealings with him (7:11 f.; 14:15 f.; 10:3 f., 15, 16; 9:3, 19 f., 29 f.; 13:24-28; chaps. 16; 19:6 f.; 23:1 f.).

Cf. 1 Kings 19:1 f., 10, 14; Jer. 12:5, 6; 15:10; Hab. 1:13 f.; Isa. 40:27; 49:14 f.; 50:10; 63:17; *cf.* 64:5, 7; 57:11; 42:14 f.; Mal. 3:14, 15; 2:17.

In Ecclesiastes a lack of cheerful hope and a spirit almost pessimistic in its tone is found, which arose in measure from the observance of the various inconsistencies in life and the failure in the exercise of the principle of retribution in society.² (*Cf.*

¹ Doubt and despondency also arose in some cases from suffering which was merited on account of sin, *e. g.* The book of Lamentations. Ezek. 33:10; Ps. 39:8 f.; *cf.* also Isa. 64:5-7. The existence of sin may also be implied in other psalms given above.

² *Cf.* such references as 8:6, 9; 3:16; 4:1 f.; 5:8 f.; 10:16 f.; 7:15; 9:2, 11 f.; 8:10, 14.

1:2, 14, 17; 2:11, 17, 21, 26; 4:4; 6:9, etc.; 2:17; *cf.* 4:2,3; 6:3.¹

c. But besides the above, another result of an entirely different nature is found as the ultimate outcome in certain instances from such exceptions, namely, the gaining of higher spiritual conceptions, or the realization of a loftier spiritual state.²

This fact is more especially found in the Psalter, where, in several places, after perplexity and even the greatest doubt on account of the exceptions to the principle of retribution had arisen, in the end a higher appreciation of spiritual blessings was gained. Thus, in Ps. 73 (referred to under the previous heading) the writer is led out of his doubt into the consciousness of possessing a higher spiritual blessing than the wicked have, namely, in God as his highest good (vss. 25, 26). *Cf.* Ps. 17; 4:7; 39:7; 73:16; 49.³

d. Another end secured by the suffering of the righteous was the correction of a false inference. Since suffering came as a punishment for sin a very natural inference to derive was that behind *all* suffering there must exist sin as its cause—the greater the suffering the greater the sin. Thus, in the book of Job, the friends are described as inferring that Job must be guilty of great sin since suffering of such magnitude had befallen him. The book teaches that their supposition was false. The afflictions which he endured were sent as a trial of his faith and integrity. Thus one of the purposes of the book was a correction of this false inference, showing that the conclusion which his friends drew does not always or necessarily hold good.

7. The relation of the principle of retribution to individualism or individual responsibility may now be briefly noticed.

As far as the individual is concerned the principle of retribu-

¹Note also the hopeless outlook upon death, 5:15 f.; 3:18 f.; 6:3 f.; 9:10.

²Here also will naturally come the references which show that suffering may have a purifying end in view or serve as a test of character (*cf.* above, p. 20 d).

³Notice also in this connection the references in Ecclesiastes, that it is best after all to accept life as it is, with its evils and perplexing inconsistencies, and make the best of them (*cf.* 2:24; 3:12 f., 22; 6:7-9; 8:15; 9:7-10; 5:18-20; 11:9 f. *Cf.*, also, 12:13, but this may be a later addition).

tion has the same bearing as in reference to the nation. This is well illustrated by the Book of Proverbs.

And while the fact is stated that the well-being or suffering of individuals may be affected by the good or evil of others—the result and influence of which extends beyond them (*i. e.*, children affected by parental conduct)—the action of the individuals themselves is not overlooked as related to the same end.¹

In Jeremiah and Ezekiel the fact of individual responsibility is especially emphasized, being set forth in the way of rebuke to the hopelessness of men of that day, or the excuse that their suffering was due to the sin of their fathers. These prophets do not set the old doctrine aside, but they supplement it by emphasizing the fact, that in the future men will stand in an individual relation to God—well-being and suffering being determined by individual action alone. *Cf.* Jer. 31:29, 30; Ezek., chaps. 18, 33.

But while these references apparently had to do with a future period, they as well had a bearing upon present conditions, showing to the people of that day, that they themselves could not avoid their own personal relation to the fundamental principle of retribution, and their consequent responsibility as individuals.

8. Another fact that should be noticed in this study is the relation of suffering to the kingdom of God in the Old Testament. This important subject, however, lies beyond the scope of this particular study, and so only a few words will be necessary to show the general connection of thought between the two.

In the Protevangelium (JE Gen. 3:14 f.) while suffering is described as punishment for sin, a further thought is as well included, that it will be through a process or period of suffering that righteousness will be eventually victorious.

All through the Old Testament the thought is found that suffering has a reformatory as well as retributive end in view as related to Israel (*cf.* above, p. 9).

This fact is especially dwelt upon in the prophetic teaching and exhortation. The prophets were painfully conscious of the fact that their nation had failed and was failing to realize the true

¹ *Cf.* in the execution of civil justice the law that children were not to suffer for parental sins and vice versa. *E. g.* Deut. 24:16; 2 Kings 14:5, 6; 2 Chron. 25:4.

end of its well-being, namely, as a people loyal and devoted to their God. Their own individual efforts to arouse their nation to repentance were without permanent result; while punishment sent to warn or reform them was also unavailing.

Thus it was, the more true well-being was seen to be unrealized in the national life of the present, and the prospect for present betterment hopeless, the more did the thoughts of these great religious leaders turn to the future, to an ideal condition which would be realized through the discipline and purification or reformation of suffering; when once more God would exert his power on their behalf and grant his favor, and when a remnant at least would be restored to their own land. Now this ideal future of which the prophets speak is included in the subject of the kingdom of God in the Old Testament.

Cf. Amos 9:9 f.; Hosea 5:15; 2:7, 14-17; 6:1-3; 3:3 f.; 10:4, 10; 11:8-11; 14:1 f.; Isa. 1:24-31; 27:9, 13; 28:23-29; 4:2-6; 6:11-13; 17:6, 7; 10:21; Micah 4:6-10; 7:9 f.; 2:12 (?); *cf.* 5:3; Jer. 30:10, 11; 46:27, 28; 3:14; 12:15; 23:3-8; 16:14, 15; 29:10-14; 24:6, 7; 33:6-9 and chap. 31 especially; Ezek. 14:10-11; 20:37, 38; 36:11, 25 f.; 39:25 f.; 7:16; 23:27, 48; *cf.* 6:8-10; 17:22-24; 11:16; 20:41 f.; 16:53; Isa. 40:2; 51:12 f.; 65:8-10; 54:8 f.; also Isa. 26:16 f.; 27:9 f.; Lam. 4:22; 3:21 f., 31, 55 f.; Zech. 1:12 f., 17; 2:1 f.; 8:6 f., 12 f.; also Zech. 9:11 f.; 10:6 f.

Cf. Restoration under the figure of a resurrection. Hosea 13:14; Ezek. 37:7-14; Isa. 26:19.

A few references are also found in which this same principle is applied to outside nations, who are thus to become a part of the divine kingdom, *e. g.*, Isa. 19:1 f., 20 f.; 23:15 f.; Zeph. 2:11; 3:8 f.; Zech. 9:7; also Zech. 14:16 f.; *cf.* Isa. 26:9, 10.

9. The last point to consider in this study is how new conceptions and principles were adjusted to old ones in the progress of thought in the Old Testament.

The doctrine that righteousness is followed by prosperity and sin by suffering is a fundamental principle throughout the Old Testament. No new principle ever came in to set this aside, however much in certain instances it might be questioned.

Whatever new principles or ideas arose from time to time, they were introduced not to set aside this fundamental doctrine but to modify it, or correct false inferences from it.

It is during the period of the exile and that bordering upon it, that the widest range of exceptions are found, for then, as never before, was the problem of well-being, and especially of suffering thrust upon the attention of the thoughtful and pious of the nation. But here we find that the new ideas came in not to supersede but to modify current conceptions, or they are set forth in connection with the old ideas without any apparent attempt to adjust them to each other.

Thus in the Book of Job the principle of retribution is recognized and maintained even by Job himself (*cf.* 27:7; 31:3 f.). And while one of the purposes of the book was to oppose the false inference that suffering necessarily implies sin, and to show that Job's suffering came as a discipline or trial of his faith, it does not therefore teach that *all* suffering has this meaning and purpose. The point rather was taught that the old doctrine did not cover all cases; it was not inclusive enough; there were or might be exceptions to it.

Again, in reference to the relation of individual responsibility to the principle of retribution, a point which is noticed particularly in Jeremiah and Ezekiel (*cf.* above, pp. 27, 28), side by side with this new teaching the old principle of the influence of ancestral action is recognized (*cf.* Jer. 32:18; 14:20; 18:21; *cf.* 16:10 f.). The new prophetic teaching was introduced more in the manner of a protest against false inferences or a spirit of despondency, in view of the older recognized principle: that is, the doctrine of individual responsibility does not supersede the old doctrine that men are affected by the good or evil action of others to whom they are related.

Even the sublime thought of the "suffering servant" (whose suffering the people thought was due to his own sin, but who was in reality bearing the sins of his people) does not set aside the recognized principle of retribution in that same prophecy (*cf.* Isa. 56:1 f.; 58:6 f., 13 f., etc.; 42:23-25; 40:2; 59:9, 12 f., 43:28, etc.).

To give one more instance, the higher appreciations of spiritual blessings as a part of well-being (such as was noticed above in connection with the Psalms, p. 26), which was apparently the outcome of exceptions to the principle of retribution,¹ this conception did not set aside the value placed upon material and social blessings. Thus in the prophetic descriptions of the content of well-being in the ideal future, material and social good are included as essential factors. We cannot, therefore, point to a time, when material and social good were left out of consideration as a valuable part of well-being.

In a word, then, the new ideas come in from time to time, not to supersede but to modify, supplement, or correct the principles or ideas, which were already accepted and established in the national thought.

¹ The influence from this is also probably felt in the thought of other Psalms (*e.g.*, the lofty spiritual teaching in Ps. 16) even though it is not so stated as the occasion.

THE LAST WORDS OF MOSES¹

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I

The Lord came from Sinai,
And rose from Seir unto them;
He shined forth from Mount Paran,
And he came from the ten thousands of holy ones:
At his right hand was a fiery law unto them.
Yea, he loveth the tribes;
All their holy ones are in thy hand:
And they sat down at thy feet;
Every one received of thy words.

II

Moses commanded us a law, an inheritance for the assemblies of Jacob
(and he was king in Jeshurun), when the heads of the people were gathered,
all the tribes of Israel together.

OF REUBEN

Let Reuben live, and not die;
And let not his men be few.

OF JUDAH

Hear, Lord, the voice of Judah,
And bring him unto his people:
With his hands he contended for himself;
And thou shalt be an help against his adversaries.

OF LEVI

Thy Thummim and thy Urim are with him whom thou lovest,
Whom thou didst prove at Massah,
With whom thou didst strive at the waters of Meribah;
Who said of his father, and of his mother, I have not seen him;
Neither did he acknowledge his brethren,
Nor knew he his own children:
For they have observed thy word,
And keep thy covenant.

¹ The suggested form is that I and III are continuous, and make the General Blessing of Moses; between these the blessings on particular tribes appear as a traditional document with a separate heading.

They shall teach Jacob thy judgments,
 And Israel thy law ;
 They shall put incense before thee,
 And whole burnt offering upon thine altar.
 Bless, LORD, his substance,
 And accept the work of his hands :
 Smite through the loins of them that rise up against him,
 And of them that hate him, that they rise not again.

OF BENJAMIN

The beloved of the LORD shall dwell in safety by him ;
 He covereth him all the day long,
 And he dwelleth between his shoulders.

OF JOSEPH

Blessed of the LORD be his land ;
 For the precious things of heaven, for the dew,
 And for the deep that coucheth beneath,
 And for the precious things of the fruits of the sun,
 And for the precious things of the growth of the moons,
 And for the chief things of the ancient mountains,
 And for the precious things of the everlasting hills,
 And for the precious things of the earth and the fulness
 thereof,
 And the good will of him that dwelt in the bush :
 Let the blessing come upon the head of Joseph,
 And upon the crown of the head of him that is prince among
 his brethren.
 His firstling bullock, majesty is his ;
 And his horns are the horns of the wild ox :
 With them he shall push the peoples, all of them, even the
 ends of the earth :
 And they are the ten thousands of Ephraim,
 And they are the thousands of Manasseh.

OF ZEBULUN AND ISSACHAR

Rejoice, Zebulun, in thy going out ;
 And, Issachar, in thy tents.
 They shall call the peoples unto the mountain ;
 There shall they offer sacrifices of righteousness :
 For they shall suck the abundance of the seas,
 And the hidden treasures of the sand.

OF GAD

Blessed be he that enlargeth Gad :
 He dwelleth as a lioness ;

And teareth the arm, yea, the crown of the head.
And he chose the first part for himself,
For there was a ruler's portion reserved ;
And he came with the heads of the people,
He executed the justice of the LORD,
And his judgments with Israel.

OF DAN

Dan is a lion's whelp,
That leapeth forth from Bashan.

OF NAPHTALI

O Naphtali, satisfied with favour,
And full with the blessing of the LORD :
Possess thou the west and the south.

OF ASHER

Blessed be Asher above sons ;
Let him be acceptable unto his brethren,
And let him dip his foot in oil.
Thy bars shall be iron and brass ;
And as thy days, so shall thy strength be.

III

There is none like unto God, O Jeshurun,
Who rideth upon the heaven for thy help,
And in his excellency on the skies.
The eternal God is thy dwelling place,
And underneath are the everlasting arms :
And he thrust out the enemy from before thee,
And said, Destroy.
And Israel dwelleth in safety,
The fountain of Jacob alone,
In a land of corn and wine ;
Yea, his heavens drop down dew.
Happy art thou, O Israel,
Who is like unto thee?
A people saved by the LORD,
The shield of thy help,
And that is the sword of thy excellency !
And thine enemies shall submit themselves unto thee ;
And thou shalt tread upon their high places.

Deuteronomy 33.

JERUSALEM AND THEREABOUTS.

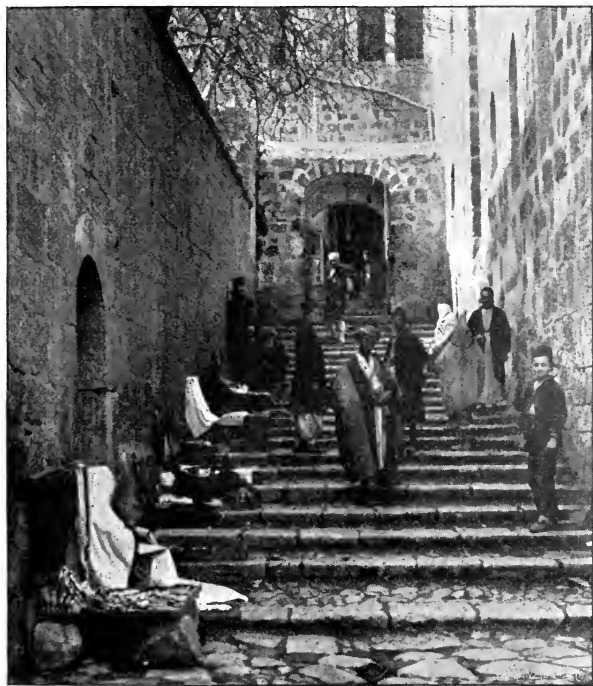
By the REVEREND A. K. PARKER, D.D.,
Chicago.

AT the Jaffa gate of Jerusalem western travelers in general part with certain illusions, equipped with which they have journeyed thus far. The atmosphere of the holy city is not conducive to spiritual fervors, nor do its everyday scenes feed the noblest emotions of the soul. Here, to begin with, as we stand at the top of that long descent of shallow stone stairs, dignified by the name of David Street, an ecclesiastical procession is advancing, and we step into a shop doorway to allow the Latin Bishop to pass. His reverence, if he be not entitled to a much more august appellation, is returning in full pontificals to his palace from some high function at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, attended by an imposing array of gorgeous mace-bearers, vested priests and brown-frocked monks, and further honored by a swaggering escort of Turkish soldiers. "The Bishop must be protected, yes," explains the nonchalant dragoon, "it is near Holy Week, when always there is much quarreling between the Latins and the Greeks." Here, again, in the doorway of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre itself, lounges the Turkish military guard, ready for prompt and impartial interference if Latin and Greek worshipers fall into dispute for the ten thousandth time over the infringement of some petty privilege, and fly, like wild beasts, at each others' throats.

If the plain truth must be spoken, the Jerusalem of today is a sordid and depressing Oriental town, which has little or nothing to tell the visitor of the memorable and glorious periods of its past history. Its most notable buildings, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the mosques within the Haram esh Sherif enclosure, possess, it is true, an incomparable interest, but it is to the antiquarian, the artist, and the historian that they

make their strongest appeal. One may sometimes meet the heroic figure of Godfrey of Bouillon under the mediæval archways of these narrow streets, but never Jesus of Nazareth. We must go outside the walls if we would set our feet in the pathways he trod.

The long ridge of the Mount of Olives, rising as it does 200 feet above the hills upon which the city stands, and separated



STREET OF STAIRS

from its walls only by the narrow Kedron valley, is perpetually challenging the attention as one walks the city streets. Its green slopes are dotted with groups of gray olive trees, and crossed by steep and narrow footpaths. Here and there a solitary building stands out, offensively conspicuous among them the new Russian church with its Byzantine domes, and the roofs of a little village rise above its summit. It is unwalled, open, free of access. But Olivet keeps yet its aspect of seclusion. It

is very near Jerusalem, seeming literally to overhang it, and, at the same time, very remote from its paltry traffic, its mean ecclesiastical squabbles, and its bedizened holy places. One breathes more freely upon its slopes, and takes courage in the shadow of its olive trees to open the New Testament. It is easy to realize that here Jesus sat in meditation, looking out upon the snowy marble and glittering gold of the Temple terraces and walls, when the troubled disciples found him out, saying "Tell us when shall these things be? and what shall be the sign of thy coming?" Through this valley of graves just below us, crossing the brook Kedron he came, as the sun was setting, on the evening of Sunday, and again on Monday and on Tuesday of Passion Week, and set his face to climb the hill toward Bethany. The Jerusalem of our Lord's time is buried deep under the rubbish accumulations of centuries, but one ventures to think that if he walked again on earth this green hillside would wear to him a not unfamiliar aspect.

We visited the Mount of Olives first in the afternoon of Palm Sunday; and riding in the direction of Bethany far enough to lose sight of the city altogether, turned back upon the road running around the southern shoulder of the hill by which mounted travelers coming from Jericho and Bethany must always have approached Jerusalem. Nothing can be more exact in detail than Dean Stanley's famous description of this spot. As we pushed eagerly on, the city walls appeared for a moment, and were lost to sight. The road descends, and mounts again to a little platform where the rider checks his horse, surprised, so suddenly does it break upon him, by the very picture he was expecting to see. There, before him, hardly a stone's throw distant, as it seems, stretched out in the brilliant sunshine upon its broken hills and shut in by its useless walls, lies the gray, ruinous, melancholy city of David; and just here—it is hardly possibly to doubt it—David's Son stood, and beholding splendid and proud Jerusalem wept over it. Hardly another locality in or about Jerusalem, associated with the gospel narrative, is less open to controversy than this. The Greek and the Latin churches have each its own Garden of Gethsemane. The Dome of the Rock in the enclosure

of the Haram esh Sherif covers the site of the ancient altar of burnt offering, one party confidently affirms. Another party is equally positive that this mysterious cave is the very tomb which Joseph of Arimathea surrendered for the burial of Jesus. The Protestant world, with few exceptions, scouts the claim that the shrines enclosed within the walls of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre mark the sites of the crucifixion and the entombment of our Lord. We may choose between two or three plausible identifications of Calvary outside the walls of the city. Certainty regarding these matters as yet there is none; though it is not unreasonable to expect that the explorations of the future will tell us beyond a doubt where Herod's Temple stood and where the three crosses were set up. Meanwhile the devout spirit, seeking the places which knew the Christ, will gladly turn away from the candle-stained gloom of churches, heavy with incense odors, to the wide and sunny and quiet spaces of the Mount of Olives.

“The pathways of thy land are little changed
Since Thou wert there;
The busy world through other ways has ranged,
And left these bare —

The rocky path still climbs the glowing steep
Of Olivet,
The rains of two millenniums wear it deep;
Men tread it yet.

The wild fig throws broad shadows o'er it still,
As once o'er Thee;
Peasants go home at evening up that hill
To Bethany.

And as, when gazing, Thou didst weep o'er them,
From height to height
The white roofs of discrowned Jerusalem
Burst on our sight.

It was on Palm Sunday afternoon also that we saw the Garden of Gethsemane, a quiet spot at the foot of Olivet, and somewhat removed from the road which here begins the ascent of the hill. A high stone wall encloses the irregular quadrangle with its seven venerable olive trees, their rugged trunks showing in

yawning rents the marks of great age. About each tree is built a wooden paling with a locked gate, a necessary precaution, if the trees are not to be stripped by ruthless pilgrims of the last tiny twig and leaf. The Latin church has possession of the little garden; and the Franciscan monks in charge are very courteous to visitors. There is no entrance fee, but if you would carry away



OLIVE TREE IN GETHSEMANE

two or three flowers of the purple and yellow heart's-ease which brighten the carefully kept garden beds, a bit of silver will procure them and the good father will slip your offering into his pocket, saying, "It is for the poor." On the inner side of the enclosing wall sacred pictures are hung at intervals, marking "stations for prayer," and in the fragrant air, and sunshine of that quiet Sunday afternoon a little company of worshipers, with a priest at the head, was making the rounds of these stations, kneeling a

moment at each to chant a prayer. Very sweet and very solemn rose upon the stillness the plaintive minor of the repeated refrain of the litany, "O Lamb of God, that taketh away the sins of the world, have mercy on us!"

No conceivable credulity can accept these olives as the identical trees beneath which our Lord prayed. But it is very likely that the Garden of the Oil Press was hereabouts; and the tradition which fixes upon this spot goes back to the fourth century. The Romish church gently protects, but she does not invade the peace of the garden; and one sympathizes, when he turns away

from the reputed Gethsemane, with that traveler who says that "he chooses rather to believe in its authenticity than to defend it."

Shall we leave the Mount of Olives without visiting the church of the Ascension? The mosque of the Ascension it should rather be called, for here is a "holy place" to which Christians, Latin, Greek, and Armenian alike, come to say masses by the gracious permission of their Mohammedan masters. Church and mosque stand side by side in the center of an enclosed court. Climb the narrow stone stairway leading to the minaret of the mosque for an outlook upon one of the loveliest and most surprising views that Palestine offers. West and north lies the city, south the hilly country about Bethlehem. This prospect has been gained from many another point of view, and it does not long detain you. But what strange vision of lake and mountain is this, greeting the astonished eyes as one looks eastward? You turn to your guide in bewilderment. That stretch of waveless deep blue water lying yonder, only a few hundred feet below, it seems, and easily reached in a half hour's walk, you hardly venture to ask the question, but is it, can it be, the Dead Sea? It can be nothing else, certainly; but it is nearly four thousand feet below our level, and a ride of seven hours would hardly bring us to it. The marvelous purity of the atmosphere is the magician's wand that has brought the Dead Sea to our feet, and set dim Nebo just before us rising above that deep chasm in the blue boundary wall of the mountains of Moab.

Next to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, the most famous shrine of Palestine, or indeed, of the world, is the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. The city itself lies upon the spur of a hill, a long irregular line of closely packed houses of mud and stone, surrounded by terraced vineyards and orchards of olive trees and figs, and presenting as its most conspicuous object, an enormous shapeless building, in which church and convent are inextricably combined. It is not easy, even when one stands at its gate, to disentangle its parts, and say where church begins and convent ends.

Of the three doorways in the façade of the Church of the

Nativity, two have been built up and the third reduced in size, that the interior might be more easily protected against Mohammedan assaults, a precaution, happily, now no longer necessary. Through this low and narrow door one enters the oldest Christian church in the world. The Empress Helena reared these walls and Constantine consecrated them to Christian worship. Justinian restored and enriched the church. And it has been marvelously preserved since from Saracenic fury, and Mohammedan desecra-



BETHLEHEM AND THE LATIN CONVENT

tion. The pointed wooden roof of the nave is of English oak, by which King Edward IV. replaced the decaying beams of the original construction of cedar of Lebanon. On either side of the wide nave are two aisles, with forty-four columns in all, noble monolith shafts of rose-colored marble, with each a cross engraved upon its capital. Faint traces of the mosaics with which the walls were once adorned are visible, and from the ceiling, both of the nave and the aisles, hang silver lamps, curiously decorated with ostrich eggs. Looking down the long

nave, the eye is arrested by an ugly brick wall rising as high as the capitals of the columns, and cutting off completely the transept, an inexcusable and shabby defacement, recently built by the Greeks. This nobly proportioned, simple and severe interior is entirely wanting in the customary apparatus of Greek and Romish worship, such as chapels, altars, images, pictures, candles, votive offerings. Among the lovely marble pillars, sole



GHURGH OF NATIVITY

occupants of the vast and unadorned space of the church, one may wander at will, as though strolling through a grove; an immunity and privilege to be gratefully enjoyed.

Passing through the disfiguring wall at the extremity of the nave, we find ourselves in a richly decorated Greek church, with its altar and gorgeous bishop's throne, with pictures upon the walls and gigantic candlesticks supporting candles as thick as one's arm. Masses are being said, and barefooted monks with brown frocks girdled with a rope patter over the stone floor.

But this gaudy church is not what we have come to see. Near the great altar a flight of steps leads to an arched doorway. Down these steps and through this door, a monk with a lighted candle leads us into an underground chapel, forty feet long, twelve feet wide, ten feet high. It is in fact a natural cave, paved and lined with marble, with costly glimmering lamps suspended from its ceiling. At the extremity of the chapel is a



FIELD OF BOAZ, NEAR BETHLEHEM

semi-circular recess, and into its marble pavement a silver star is sunk, around which runs this inscription: *Hic de Virgine Maria Jesus Christus natus est*. That the stable of the Bethlehem inn where Joseph and Mary found refuge was a cave, is not unlikely. That this particular recess in the rock, adorned with pictures and protected from relic hunters by a wire grating, is the very manger in which the infant Jesus was laid is not impossible. The tradition is a very ancient one, and those who are not prepared

to accept it are contented at least not to challenge it. We felt no overpowering rush of emotion as we looked down upon the silver star which a stream of pilgrims devoutly kiss; nor, on the other hand, could we speak lightly of the credulity and superstition of these devotees. It is something more than a bigoted Protestant prejudice which forbids true religious emotions as one stands beside shrines vulgarized by tinsel finery. The mind contends helplessly against a sense of unreality. We too, like the pilgrims whom we were inclined to envy, might have knelt devoutly in the cave of the Church of the Nativity if the marble casing could have been torn from the rock, if the votive lamps could have been removed, if the clinging odors of incense could have been purged away. But over these barriers it was hard to climb; and yet it may have been just here that "the heaven-born child, all meanly wrapt, in the rude manger lay."

Leaving the church, we walked through the long street of the town, and then by a narrow cross lane reached the summit of a hill and looked off upon a wide sweep of encircling pastures and grain fields. Nowhere in southern Palestine is there more careful cultivation than is found just about Bethlehem, and nowhere are the field flowers more abundant and more brilliant. "Yonder," said the dragoman, pointing to a little clump of olive trees in the plain below, "is the field where the shepherds were feeding their flocks when the angels appeared." The exact spot does not matter. These are the green cornfields and pasture lands of the House of Bread, and up this hill and down this narrow street the wandering shepherds hurried to find it even so as the angel had said unto them. Once more it is in the open air, and not under consecrated roofs, that the gospel story becomes real. Let illusions go. The Holy Land is eloquent still to him who has ears to hear.

OUTLINE TOPICS IN THE HISTORY OF OLD TESTAMENT PROPHECY

V.

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PROPHECY OF THE UNITED KINGDOM FROM ABOUT 1050 B. C. TO
937 B. C.

I. LITERARY SOURCES:

I. Contemporaneous Hebrew Sources:

- 1) A few poetical pieces like the laments of David, 2 Sam. 1:17 ff., 3:33 ff.
- 2) Prophetical histories, the material of which has been used in the books of Samuel and Kings, *cf.* 1 Chron. 29:29; 2 Chron. 9:29.¹
- 3) State records, like "the chronicles of King David," *cf.* 1 Chron. 27:24.¹
- 4) The charter of the kingdom, *cf.* 1 Sam. 10:25.
- 5) The book of national anthology, Jashar. 2 Sam. 1:18.¹
- 6) The psalms which belong to the period.²

¹ For these lost works *cf.* Ewald, *Aboda Zara*, ch. 2; Donaldson, *Jashar*; Ewald, *History*, I., 64-74; W. R. Smith, *Encyc. Brit.*, XI., 534; Wellhausen, in Bleek, *Einleitung*,⁵ 9-18; Fuller, *Jasher*, in *Smith Bib. Dict.*², I., 1528.

² The psalms assigned to David by modern critics may be summarized as follows:

- (a) Binney, Green, etc., all or nearly all assigned by tradition.
- (b) Olshausen, Lengerke, Kuenen, Reuss, W. R. Smith, Cheyne, Wildeboer, probably none.
- (c) Baethgen, probably 3, 4, and 18.
- (d) Hitzig, Pss. 3-19, except 5, 6, 14.
- (e) Ewald, 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 18, 19, 24, 29, 32, 101 and some fragments.
- (f) Delitzsch, 3-19, 22-24, 25, 28-30, 32, 34, 36-39, 41, 51, 52, 54, 56-63, and some others doubtful.

For discussions *cf.* Ewald, *Comm. on the Psalms*, I., 64-157; Murray, *Origin and Growth of the Psalms*, 126-43; Giesebrecht, *Ueber die Abfassung der Psalmen*, ZAW, I., 276-332; W. R. Smith, *Psalms*, *Encyc. Brit.*, XX., 33-9; Cheyne, *The Book of Psalms*,² VII-XVII; Delitzsch, *Comm. on the Book of the Psalms*, I., 8-17; Green, *Titles of the Psalms*, O. and N. T. Stud., Sept. 1890, 153-67; Baethgen, *Die Psalmen*, VI-XI.; Staerk, *Zur Kritik der Psalmenüberschriften*, ZAW, XII., 91-151; Driver, *Introduction*,² 351-64; Reuss, *Die hebräische Poesie*, 37-49.

2. Later Hebrew Traditions.

- 1) Concerning Samuel in the Books of Samuel.¹
- 2) Concerning Saul in the Books of Samuel.¹
- 3) Concerning David in the Books of Samuel and Kings.²
- 4) Concerning Solomon in the Books of Kings.²
- 5) Concerning all in the Books of Chronicles.³

3. Monumental Sources.⁴

4. Theories of Interpretation (see Syllabus IV).

2. LIVING PROPHECY.⁵

1. Struggles with the Philistines.
2. Establishment of the monarchy.
3. The life of Samuel.⁶

¹ For the Books of 1 and 2 Samuel, cf. Thenius, *Die Bücher Samuels*²; Wellhausen, *Der Text der Bücher Samuelis*; Keil, *Die Bücher Samuels*²; Kirkpatrick, *1 and 2 Samuel* (Camb. Bible); Harper, *1 and 2 Samuel*, *O. T. Stud.*, 1886, May, 376-80, June, 407-11; Klostermann, *Die Bücher Samuels und der Könige*; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 71-2; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,² I., 368-91; Budde, *ZAW*, VIII., 231 ff.; Budde, *Die Bücher Richter und Samuel*; Driver, *Notes on the Heb. Text of the Books of Samuel*; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II., 22-45; Driver, *Introduction*,² 162-75; Blaikie, *Samuel*, I. and II., (*Exp. Bible*); and other Commentaries.

² For the Books of 1 and 2 Kings, cf. Bohr, *Kings* (Lange); Thenius, *Die Bücher der Könige*,² Keil, *Die Bücher der Könige*,² Wellhausen, in Bleek, *Einleitung*,⁵ 231-66; Stade, *ZAW*, IV., 271 ff., V., 275-97; VI., 156-89; Schodde, *The Book of Kings in Modern Criticism*, *O. T. Stud.*, May 1886, 369-72; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,² 392-433; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 73-9; Schwally, *Zur Quellenkritik der historischen Bücher*, *ZAW*, XII., 153-61; Driver, *Introduction*,² 175-93; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II., 45-54; and other Commentaries.

³ For the Books of 1 and 2 Chronicles, cf. Movers, *Krit. Untersuchungen über die Biblische Chronik*; Graf, *Die Geschichtliche Bücher des A. T.*, 114-247; Ewald, *History of Israel*, I., 169-96; Bertheau, *Die Bücher der Chronik erklärt*,² W. R. Smith, *Chronicles*, in *Encyc. Brit.*,⁹ V., 613-16; Ball, *Chronicles* (*Comm. for English Readers*); Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 171-227; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 81-4; Kuenen, *Onderzoek*,² I., 433-93, 513-20; Driver, *Introduction*,² 484-507; Barker, *1 Chronicles* (*Pulpit*) I.-XXII.

⁴ Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, 542-52; Meyer, *Geschichte des alten Aegyptens*, 329-33; Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, 375-9; Winckler, *Geschichte Israels*, 175.

⁵ In general cf. on all these the Histories and Comms. *in loc.*

⁶ Rhode, *Samuel und Saul*, *ZHT*, 1838, III.; Schroering, *ZLTh*, 1856, III.; Ewald, *History of Israel*,² II., 419-30; R. P. Smith, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*, 78-117; Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, II., 113-17; Kitto, *Daily Bible Illustrations*, III., *Samuel, Saul, and David*; Reuss, *Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften*, 135-8; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 197-206; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II., 91-7; Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, I., 301-13; Elmslie, *Samuel*, *Exp.*, IV., VI., 98-113.

4. The prophetic Schools.¹
5. The career of Saul.²
6. David's earlier experiences.
7. Jerusalem established as capital.³
8. Foreign wars.
9. Absalom's rebellion.
10. Removal of the Ark.
11. The life of David.⁴
12. The building of the temple.⁵
13. The work of Solomon.⁶
14. The disruption.⁷

¹ Schwebel, *De Scholis Prophetarum*; Kranichfeld, *De Prophetarum Societatibus*, Hirt, *Les Écoles des Prophètes*; R. P. Smith, *Prophecy a Preparation for Christ*, 118-56; Price, *The Schools of the Sons of the Prophets*, *O. T. Stud.*, Mar. 1889, 244-9.

² Gotthold, *De Fontibus et Autoritate Historiae Sauli*; Salmon, *The Witch of Endor*, *Exp.*, II., III., 424-33; Abrahams, *The Witch of Endor*, *Exp.* II., IV., 111-20; Ewald, *History of Israel*, III., 15-53; Reuss, *Geschichte*, 171 ff.; Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, II., 117-30; Stade, *Geschichte*, 207-57; Budde, *Sauls Königswahl und Verwerfung*, *ZAW*, VIII., 223-48; Cornill, *ZAW*, X., 96-109; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II., 97-119; Renan, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, I., 314-49.

³ Ewald, *History of Israel*, III., 123-34, 305-8; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 267-73; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II., 130-39; Renan, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, I., 357-62.

⁴ Cox, *Absalom*, *Exp.*, II., VIII., 176-87; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, III., 54-203; Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, II., 131-78; McLaren, *Life of David, as Reflected in the Psalms*; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 257-99; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II., 120-52, 169-76; Renan, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, I., 350-56, II., 1-75; and refs. in *Bib. World*, Jan. 1896, 40, n. 2.

⁵ Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, III., 226-48; Duncker, *Hist. of Ant.*, II., 181-5; Stade, *ZAW*, III., 129-77; Smend, *StKr*, 1884, 689 ff.; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 325-43; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II., 168 f.; Renan, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, II., 111-35; Becker, *Der Tempel zu Jerusalem*, *Allg. Bauztg.*, LVIII., 5-7, 14-18, 30 f.; Farrar, *Solomon, his Life and Times*, 71-106.

⁶ Plumptre, *Exp.*, II., II., 48-53; Ewald, *Hist. of Israel*, III., 204-305, 315-19; Duncker, *Hist. of Antiquity*, II., 179-200; Nestle, *ZAW*, II., 312-14; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 299-343; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II., 153-76; Renan, *Hist. of the People of Israel*, II., 76-148; Farrar, *Solomon, his life and times*.

⁷ Stanley, *History of the Jewish Church*, II., 291-312; Ewald, *History of Israel*, III., 308-15; Duncker, *History of Antiquity*, II., 179-200; Stade, *Geschichte*, I., 344-57; Kittel, *Geschichte*, II., 207-11; Renan, *History of the People of Israel*, II., 149-65; Kent, *Jeroboam and the Disruption*, *Bib. World*, July, 1894, 38-48; Rawlinson, *Kings of Israel and Judah*, 1-27.

3. EXPERIENCE PROPHECY.

[1. The stories of the earliest days, see *Bib. World*, Apr. 1896.

[2. The stories of the patriarchal times, see *Bib. World*, Apr. 1896.

The idea of using the material of the past for the sake of the present has hardly taken form.

4. DESCRIPTIVE PROPHECY.¹

1. Hannah's song, 1 Sam. 2:1-10.
2. Samuel's rebuke of Saul, 1 Sam. 15:22, 23.
3. Samuel's farewell address, 1 Sam. 12.
4. Psalms of David's persecution, *e. g.*, 7, 56.
5. Psalm's connected with the Removal of the Ark, *e. g.*, 24, 15.
6. Psalms of the wars, *e. g.*, 20, 21, 110, 18.
7. Psalms of David's sin, *e. g.*, 51 (in part).
8. Psalm's of Absalom's rebellion, *e. g.* 23.
9. The laments of David, 2 Sam. 1:17 ff., 3:33 ff.
10. The parable of Nathan, 2 Sam. 12:1-4.
11. Solomon's dedication of the temple, 1 Kings, 8:12 ff.
12. The prophetic advice concerning the disruption, 1 Kings, 11:26-40.

5. PREDICTIVE PROPHECY.²

1. The Message to Eli, 1 Sam. 2:27-36.
2. The ideal presented in Hannah's Song, 1 Sam. 2:1-10.
3. The seed of David, 2 Sam. 7:11-16.
4. The battles of the King, Ps. 110.
5. The establishment of the King, Ps. 2.
6. The reign of the King, Ps. 72.
7. Israel's King and the world, Ps. 45.
8. Thoughts about the future, Ps. 16.
9. The last words of David, 2 Sam. 23:1-7.

6. THE PROPHETIC WORK.**1. In Samuel's times.**

- 1) A period of intense activity.

¹ Cf. Comms. *in loc.*

² Riehm, *Messianic Prophecy*, 50-76; Leathes, *O. T. Prophecy*, 57-120; Delitzsch, *Mess. Prophecies*, 46-54; Edersheim, *Prophecy and History in Relation to the Messiah*, 1-27; Orelli, *O. T. Prophecy*, 148-88; Briggs, *Mess. Prophecy*, 121-52; Elliott, *O. T. Prophecy*, 88-104.

- 2) The prophetic schools.
- 3) Special characteristics.
- 4) The prophet supreme.

2. In David's times.

- 1) David's prophetic work.
- 2) Gad and Nathan.
- 3) Prophetism and royalty evenly balanced.
- 4) Prophetic spirit, higher, though less independent.

3. In Solomon's times.

- 1) Growing lack of the prophetic spirit.
- 2) Increase of monarchical spirit.
- 3) Conflict between prophetism and monarchy.

7. SUMMARIES OF THE PERIOD.

1. Ideas concerning "Right-living," "Worship," "Covenant."

- 1) Marked advance in conception of living, as exemplified in Samuel's life of patience and integrity.
- 2) Sharp contrast, with Samuel's righteous living, of Saul's disgraceful downfall.
- 3) Higher standard of morality, as implied in Nathan's rebuke, "Thou art the man."
- 4) Important step toward distribution of better ideas in the establishment of the prophetic schools.
- 5) Centralization of "worship" introduced.
- 6) Simplicity of forms of "worship" beginning to change.
- 7) Distinction is established between "sacrifice" and "obedience."
- 8) The covenant is renewed with David's seed, and what it implied.
- 9) The covenant implied in communion with God.
- 10) The covenant interpreted in connection with the disruption.
- 11) A stronger feeling of faith in the God who had wrought for the nation such wonderful deliverances.

2. Ideas Concerning "God."

- 1) A new name for God, "Jehovah of Hosts."

- 2) The supremacy of Jehovah as head of the theocracy, in establishing and deposing kings.
- 3) Ideas of Jehovah's holiness and faithfulness.
- 4) Ideas of Jehovah's sovereignty and justice.
- 5) God's dealings with the nation and with individuals are evidence of special interest.
- 6) The consciousness of closer intimacy and communion with God becomes deeper.

3. Ideas Concerning "Man," "Sin," "Death."

- 1) Repeated recognition and confession of national and individual guilt.
- 2) Deeper inculcation of the prophetic teaching of punishment for sin, in the cases of Saul, Absalom, David, Solomon.
- 3) Firmer establishment of the belief that the wicked shall perish on account of their sin.
- 4) Beginning of the feeling that he who sustains close fellowship with God shall not *die*.
- 5) Acknowledgment of the existence of "spirits" and of life after death.

4. Ideas Concerning Deliverance.

- 1) Jehovah will manifest himself toward his anointed.
- 2) The nation Israel shall continue to grow and prosper, under the special guidance of Jehovah.
- 3) The ideal future of the nation receives a basis.
- 4) The royal leadership is now determined, so far as concerns the family in which it shall lie, the line of the expected deliverance thus becoming narrower.
- 5) The position of the King is fixed, in his relationship to the prophet.
- 6) The position of the King is fixed in his relationship to God :
 - (a) Subordinate to God.
 - (b) The son of God, as the nation had been God's son.
 - (c) A King at whose side Jehovah stands.
 - (d) Rebellion against him is rebellion against God.

- 7) The King is a warrior, with an army of priestly warriors, victorious, pursuing, whom rebels would better fear.
- 8) The dominion of the King is universal, and he will rule in righteousness, mercy and peace.
- 9) The King will bless all the world, and will be united with the world in love and sympathy.

Aids to Bible Readers.

THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

By the REVEREND PROFESSOR J. T. MARSHALL, M.A.
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The Readers.—The Epistle.—Analysis.

THE series of papers, to which I have been asked to contribute the one on *Hebrews*, is intended to deal with each epistle as a contribution to the history and literature of the New Testament church. This being so, there are many interesting problems in the epistle before us which we must regretfully pass by, and must concentrate our attention on the circumstances of the readers, and the manner in which the epistle meets those circumstances.

The Readers.—According to the heading of all existing copies, these were “Hebrews”—not, however, in the narrower sense of that word, as antagonistic to Grecian civilization and culture; for in that case, they would not have welcomed an epistle written in Greek and abounding in quotations from the LXX—but as equivalent to Jews, descendants of Abraham the Hebrew. Probably the name also connotes residence in Palestine. The epistle was written to a definite church, with a creditable past (6: 10; 10: 32), to whom the writer hopes to be restored, 13: 23. There is not the slightest allusion to Gentile converts in the church, nor indeed to Gentile antagonism from outside. Had there been Gentiles in the church, the relations between them and the Jews could scarcely have escaped mention. We have before us, then, a local community consisting solely of Jewish Christians. Some of the members had been converted many years before, and “ought for the time to have been teachers” (5: 12), but even they do not seem to have heard the gospel direct from Christ, but from his disciples, who had been enabled to work many miracles among them, and to dispense the gifts of the Holy Ghost (2: 3, 4). These, their first leaders, were now dead, however, having had a glorious passage from this world to the next (13: 7). At one time the church “endured a great contest of sufferings” (10: 32), but inasmuch as that occurred “in the earlier days,” needing now an effort to recollect, we infer that since then, until recently, the state of things had been more peaceful. Formerly, some of their number had

been "in bonds," and had endured "the spoiling of their possessions ;" being, in fact, "made a gazing-stock by reproaches and afflictions." At that time there was genuine enthusiasm in the church. The sufferers "joyfully welcomed" spoliation, and the rest of the church sympathized with them, courageously claimed connection with them, and shared their losses (10:33, 34). They delighted to minister to the saints, and their zeal in Christian work and their love to needy brethren were such as God could not righteously forget (6:10).

But latterly, a decided *change for the worse* had come over them. Persecution and suffering were again threatening, and they had lost their zeal to withstand them. They were called upon to bear the reproach of Christ (13:13). They had "need of patience" (10:36). They were threatened with worldly loss (12:16). Some of them were in bonds (13:3). They were enduring divine fatherly chastisement (12:7). Their Christian course was a hard race, calling for patient endurance, cross-bearing, and a readiness to think lightly of shame (12:1, 2). And their zeal was not equal to the strain made upon it. They were still somewhat mindful of Christ's poor (6:10), but their brotherly love was inconstant, and their hospitality waning (13:1, 2); while their sympathy with those in bonds was a thing of the past (10:34; 13:3). In view of possible disasters, they were growing avaricious, and distrustful of God's providing care (13:5). They were getting out of touch with the past. Their former leaders failed to inspire their admiration and imitation (6:12; 13:7) and their present leaders were treated with scant courtesy, if not mistrust (13:17). They had become "dull of hearing" (5:11), sluggishly insensible to the truths which once thrilled them (6:12). The hands once so industrious for Christ were hanging limply down, and the knees once so robust were feebly tottering (12:12). They were even growing remiss in their attendance on the means of grace (10:25). Discord was not unknown (12:14) and bitterness seemed imminent (5:15). In brief, they were in peril of being "hardened by the deceitfulness of sin" (3:13).

Our author evidently considered them on the verge of apostasy. They were in danger of "drifting away" from "the things which they had heard" from the apostolic men (2:1-4); of letting slip their confidence and hopeful glorying (3:6); of coming short of the promised rest (4:1); of falling into the same disobedience as the Israelites in the wilderness (4:11), and of shrinking back unto perdition (10:39). The peril which threatened them was a relapse to Judaism. Evidently the founders of the church held the same views as the writer. His lines

of reasoning could only have weight with those who had once professed the same verities; but now there was clearly a tendency in this church to renounce Christianity, and to rest for salvation in Jewish ceremonial. The causes of this retrocession were probably threefold. (1) The stress of persecution. The seventh decade—to the latter half of which our epistle belongs—was one of growing peril. Nero began his nefarious persecution, and Judaism also renewed its virulence after a period of comparative indifference. The death of James the Just (c. 63 A. D.), after making allowance for exaggerations in Hegesippus, indicates the outburst of popular fury. (2) Disappointment at the delay of Christ's second advent. They had built much on the glory of the new kingdom, and on the dignity it would confer on them and their country. They had hoped that the sufferings of the Messiah were but a transient phase of his work, quickly to be forgotten in the glory of his return. Hope deferred made the heart sick. (3) The unbelief of Israel. It was becoming evident that the Jews as a nation did not intend to accept Jesus as the Messiah. The animosity was growing more bitter. It was becoming more difficult to hold to both. Judaism seemed determined to extrude or crush the new faith, and the prospect of a glorious Messianic kingdom grew more remote. It is plain that many Jewish Christians never denied the obligatoriness of Mosaism on themselves as Jews. The *Acts* plainly discloses the loyalty of the first Palestinian Christians towards the law. They did not wish to make it binding on Gentiles (Acts 15:28, 29), but they could not throw off the conviction that they themselves must bear its yoke. Besides that, Judaism had such a glorious past. It was undoubtedly of divine origin, and had been attested by such a long row of God-sent men, endowed with superhuman powers, that it was natural that at first a Jew should fail to recognize the relation of the new faith to the old—to discern what in the old faith was transient, and what permanent. In too many cases Christianity had never been more than an appendix to Judaism; and instead of being a "leaven," leavening with new vitality their former faith, it was becoming a mere torpid excrescence. The writer of this epistle saw the danger of this attitude. To use the words of Bishop Westcott, he saw that "the Judaism which was not in due time taken up and transfigured by the gospel must become antagonistic to it. He who remains a Jew outwardly, could not but miss in the end the message of Christ."

Where was this church located? Space forbids the discussion of this subject, but I am strongly disposed to advocate Jerusalem. There

we should be most likely to find an unmixed Jewish church. There, amid the gorgeous ritual of the temple, would the temptation be strongest to cling to sacrificial and priestly ordinances, with mistaken devoutness. There only, would Jews be put in bonds (13:3) by their own countrymen; and there were the clouds of destruction foreseen in the epistle (8:13) about to burst in unparalleled fury. The only weighty objection is that a letter written to Palestine would be written in Aramaic; but this is overcome if we assume that the letter was *written to the Hellenistic community in Jerusalem*. There was even at the outset of Christianity, some feeling between the Hellenists and the rigid Hebrews, which would almost certainly adjust itself by separation. There is undoubtedly a Pauline tinge in the doctrines of this epistle (though we cannot persuade ourselves that Paul was the author; it was written by a younger man, 2:3) and there is a constant implication that it was from this more liberal position that the church had shrunk back. This has led many to maintain that the church was one which Paul had founded; but if we assume that the community was originally composed of men like Stephen, who was accused of "speaking words against the holy place and against the law, and changing the customs of Moses" (Acts 6:13), then the difficulty felt against Jerusalem as the destination of the epistle is removed. That *this* community should seem likely to revert to Judaism might well induce an enthusiastic Grecian Jew who believed in the *new* covenant to expostulate with and instruct this, once promising, but now backsliding, church.

The Epistle.—The most cursory glance at this epistle discloses that its design is, as we have just intimated, twofold: to instruct and to admonish. It is highly argumentative, but every argument is driven home by earnest entreaty: every halting-place in the process of reasoning is filled by fervid admonition to hold fast their confession. The doctrinal and admonitory portions are not interfused, and therefore we will treat them separately. We have shown that it was the influence of the grand historic past of Judaism; the overpowering presence of its gorgeous ritual; the disappointments of the new faith and incident persecutions which led these Hebrews to reckon the loss and the gain, and to ask themselves whether, now that it was becoming impossible to hold to both, they would be wise in abandoning the Jewish faith for that of the crucified Nazarene. The glories of Judaism were undoubted. Even Paul was sensitive to the grandeur of the ancestral religion. In answer to the question, "What advantage hath the Jew?" he is compelled to answer, "Much every way. First of all, they were entrusted

with the oracles of God" (Rom. 3:2). "Secondly" is not forthcoming in that connection. To find it we must come to Rom. 9, where Paul recites the dignities and prerogatives of being a Jew. "Whose is the adoption, and the Shekinah-glory, and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service (of the sanctuary) and the promises:" "whose are the fathers" (Rom. 9:4, 5). I have not seen it noted elsewhere, but I would submit that this, or a very similar, catalogue of Jewish privileges was present to our author's mind, and guided the course of the argument of the epistle. Whether the list was one in common use among the Jews, in counting their "gains" (Phil. 3:7), or, the author of Hebrews took it from Romans, we can only speculate; but it is surely remarkable that, with the exception of the substitution of "Moses" in chap. 3 where in our list stands the allied theme of the Shekinah, every item of the list is alluded to in the epistle. The line of argument in Hebrews differs from that of Gal. 3 and Rom. 5, where Paul maintains that the law was a mere side-institution, brought in to reveal the enormity of sin—though even Hebrews goes to Abrahamic times for the typical priest. Our author admits the divine origin of Judaism and highly reveres it, but maintains that it is brought to maturity, and therefore superseded, in Christianity. In abandoning Judaism, therefore, the Christian is only accepting the fruit for the blossom—the perfect for the imperfect. The key-word of the epistle is *τελείωσις* = perfection. Christianity is the complete development of what was in the germ—the substantial reality of the previous shadowy outline; and the writer shows that every one of the boasted privileges of the Jews receives its consummation in Christianity. Did the Jew boast of "*the oracles of God?*" His fragmentary and disjointed revelation is now complete in the person of God's Son. Did the Jew claim to be the son of God? (Exod. 4:22). That "*sonship*" has now for the first time been realized in Jesus, Son of God and Son of Man, and he is "bringing many sons to glory." The Sinaitic "*covenant*" is "ready to vanish away" and is succeeded by the new covenant foretold by Jeremiah (chap. 8). "*The giving of the law*" was an imposing scene, but it is quite eclipsed by the assembly of the redeemed in Zion (12:18-24): and the gorgeous ritual "*service*" is altogether superseded by the work of the ideal High Priest, who has entered the veritable tabernacle, after having offered the perfect sacrifice—himself (9:10). The "*promises*" which accompany the new covenant are far better than those of the old (8:6 ff), and if the example of "*the fathers*" is stimulating because of their faith, in Jesus we have a stainless example, and

he is the "perfecter of faith" (11, 12). Thus, Judaism is rudimentary instruction, elaborated and matured in Christianity. We now possess the ideal, which was dimly prefigured before—the antitype of all the types.

The hortatory portions are suggested by the doctrinal. Their keynote is found in 2:3, "How shall we escape if we neglect so great a salvation!" The greatness of the salvation suggests time after time the peril of neglecting it. The superiority of the Son to the angels suggests solemn warning in 2:1-4. The fact that the Son guides the house of God in its pilgrim journey, instead of Moses, demands the greater watchfulness against disobedience, like that of Meribah (3:7-4:13). The mention of Melchizedek evokes a rebuke of their obtuseness (chap. 6). The sacrifice of Christ for human sin is rightly made the basis of the most impassioned appeal in Holy Writ (10:19-39), and the contemplation of the gracious privileges of Christians introduces the pathetic exhortations of 12:25 ff.

The final admonition of the epistle is that Judaism must be given up. Its permanent elements are absorbed by Christianity, its transitory elements superseded. Devotion to its ritual is no longer innocent. The new faith gives a complete revelation of God, and the death and mediation of the Son of God more than supply the place of all sacrifices and priestly intercessions. Therefore, just as the sin-offering was eaten without the camp, and as Jesus "suffered without the gate," so the author urges Jewish Christians to come forth altogether from the camp of Judaism, bearing the reproach of Christ (13:9-15). The warning was probably not unheeded, and we may have here the dividing of the ways which led eventually to the existence in Palestine (1) of the catholic church, and (2) of the Ebionite heresy with its imperfect conception of Christ's Sonship and its denial of his High-priestly sacrifice.

ANALYSIS.

| | | | | |
|-----------------------------------|------|--|--|-----|
| <i>The Law perfected nothing.</i> | 7:19 | | <i>A better covenant enacted on better promises.</i> | 8:6 |
|-----------------------------------|------|--|--|-----|

THE REVELATION OF GOD.

| | | | | |
|--|-----|--|---|--------|
| Through the prophets | 1:1 | | In his Son, "visible counter- part of the Divine Selfhood" | 1:2, 3 |
| By means of angels | 2:2 | | By him whom angels worship | 1:4-14 |
| Warning based on grandeur of the Revelation. | | | | 2:1-4 |

THE ADOPTION OF SONS.

| | | | |
|--|--------|--|---------|
| Promised, but hitherto unrealized. Man not lord of creation, nor crowned, etc. | 2: 5-8 | Christ has risen to ideal sonship along the path of sorrow. Exalted, he is leading sons to glory | 2: 9-18 |
|--|--------|--|---------|

THE LEADER ON LIFE'S PILGRIMAGE.

| | | | |
|---|--------|-------------------------------|------------|
| Moses, faithful as servant | 3: 1-6 | Jesus, the Son is leading his | |
| Joshua, who did not give rest | 4: 8 | people to the Sabbath-rest | 4: 9 |
| Warning not to be like Israel in the wilderness | | | 3: 7-4: 13 |

THE SERVICE OF GOD.

I. THE HIGH PRIEST.

| | | | |
|--|----------|------------------------------|------------|
| Considerate with ignorant | 5: 2 | Sympathetic | 4: 15 |
| Compassed with infirmity | 5: 2 | Tempted, yet without sin | 4: 15 |
| Must offer for his own sin | 5: 3 | Has not such need | (7: 27) |
| Called to office by God | 5: 4 | The Son called to priesthood | 5: 5, 6 |
| | | Qualified through suffering | 5: 7-10 |
| (Reproof and warning on lack of | | Christian insight | 5: 2-6: 12 |
| God's promises confirmed by oath | | | 6: 13-20) |
| Inferior to Melchizedek | | Resemblances to Melchizedek | 7: 1-3 |
| a. Levi paid tithes to him | 7: 4-10 | | |
| b. Insecurity of tenure | 7: 11-13 | Eternal permanence | 7: 14-17 |
| c. Appointed without oath | 7: 21 | Appointed with an oath | 7: 20-23 |
| d. Priests mortal | 7: 23 | Abideth forever | 7: 22-25 |
| Résumé of Christ's qualification as Priest | | | 7: 26-28 |

2. THE TABERNACLE.

| | | | |
|--------------------------------|---------|-----------------------------------|--------------|
| A cosmical tabernacle | 9: 1 | The veritable heavenly tabernacle | 8: 2 |
| Pitched by man | 8: 2 | Pitched by God | 8: 2 |
| Its furniture material | 9: 2-5 | Contains the archetypes | 8: 5 |
| Holiest is entered once a year | 9: 7 | Christ entered once for all | 8: 11, 12 |
| The holiest closely veiled | 9: 8-10 | The holiest now open | (10: 19, 20) |

THE COVENANTS AND THE PROMISES. (Digression).

| | | | |
|-------------------------------------|----------|----------------------------|-----------|
| The old covenant faulty | 8: 7 | The better covenant | 8: 6 |
| (Law written on tables) | | Law written on hearts | 8: 10 |
| (Knowledge taught by priests) | | Knowledge universal | 8: 11 |
| ("Passing over" of sins Rom. 3: 25) | | Thorough forgiveness | 8: 12 |
| Dedicated with blood (Exod. 24) | | Mediated by Christ's death | 9: 15-17 |
| | 9: 18-22 | Eternal | 10: 14-18 |
| Waxing aged | 8: 13 | | |

3. THE SACRIFICES.

| | | | |
|--|-----------------|-----------------------------------|----------|
| Animal victims | 9:13 | Christ offered himself | 9:14 |
| Repeatedly offered | 9:23-25; 10:11 | Once at the end of ages | 9:26 ff |
| Manifestly inadequate | (10:4) | A perfect atonement | 10:5-10 |
| a. Sanctifies, externally | 9:13 | Purifies and energizes internally | 9:14 |
| b. Imperfect access to God | 10:1 | Idealizes worship | 10:19-21 |
| c. Recollection of sins | 9:9; 10:2-4, 11 | Joyous sense of pardon | 10:11-13 |
| | | Completes our sanctification | 10:14 |
| Solemn expostulation based on Christ's priestly work | | | 10:21-39 |

THE FATHERS.

| | | | |
|--|----------|-----------------------------------|---------|
| Their manifold trials | chap. 11 | Christ endured the cross | 12:2 |
| They all overcame by faith | | Showed faith in ideal perfection | |
| Have entered on reward | | Sat down at the right hand of God | |
| Encouragements in trial based on above | | | 12:3-17 |

THE GIVING OF THE LAW.

| | | | |
|---|----------|-----------------------------|----------|
| Mount Sinai terror-inspiring | 12:18-21 | Mount Zion, center of grace | 12:22-24 |
| Warnings based on the grace of the new covenant | | | 12:25-29 |
| Moral duties | | | 13:1-8 |
| Caused to sever connection with Judaism | | | 13:9-14 |
| Further duties and conclusions | | | 13:16-25 |

THE EPISTLES OF JOHN.

By ERNEST D. BURTON,
University of Chicago.

Authorship. — *To whom written.* — *Occasion of writing.* — *Analysis of 1 John.* — *The two shorter Epistles.*

THE writer of the letter, commonly called First John, describes himself as having been a personal follower of Jesus (1:1-4), but does not give his name. The similarity in style, vocabulary and doctrine to the fourth gospel is, however, so clearly marked that there can be no reasonable doubt that the letter and the gospel are from the same pen. This resemblance extends to favorite words such as *light*, *darkness*, *life*, *truth*, *world*, and *word* (as applied to Christ); to phrases, such as *children of God*, *children of the devil*, *a new commandment*, *to keep his commandments*, *to be of the truth*, *to do the truth*, *to pass from death to life*, *begotten (or born) of God*, *only begotten Son*, *Saviour of the world*; and to thoughts expressed in similar or slightly different words, such as, for example, *the world's hatred of Christians*, *God's love of the world prompt-*

ing him to send his Son, the witness that God bears to his Son, the fact that no man has seen God.

The letter is without address or salutation, and though the writer frequently addresses his readers, he uses no language by which they can be definitely located. They are evidently Christians (see esp. 5:13), and in all probability Gentile Christians; there are at least no distinctively Jewish forms of expression, no quotations from the Old Testament, and the distinction between Jewish and Gentile Christians is lost sight of in that between Christians and the world. If in accordance with constant tradition we ascribe the letter to the apostle John, and bear in mind the evidence of his residence in Ephesus, we shall most naturally find those to whom the letter was written among the Gentile Christians in the vicinity of that city; and the letter itself becomes in that case interesting testimony to the condition of affairs in that region in the latter part of the first century.

What the situation was to which the letter addressed itself is in any case quite clear. It was no longer possible to accept the teaching of every man who claimed to speak by the spirit of God, because many false prophets were abroad (4:1). Certain men were denying that Jesus was the Christ, refusing to confess Jesus as Christ come in the flesh (2:18, 23; 4:3), thus seeking to lead the disciples away from that which they had heard from the beginning (2:24-26). This heretical teaching was apparently some form of docetism, akin to the view that Jesus was not himself the Christ, but that the Christ came to him at his baptism and left him before he suffered (cf. 5:1, 5, 6). Thus Irenæus (Against Heresies 1.26.1) says of Cerinthus, traditionally described as an opponent of John, that he held that Jesus was not born of a virgin, but was the son of Joseph and Mary. . . . After his baptism Christ descended upon him in the form of a dove, but at last Christ departed from Jesus, and Jesus suffered and rose again, while Christ remained impassible, inasmuch as he was a spiritual being. The recently discovered apocryphal gospel of Peter is generally thought to represent the same opinion, when it says of Jesus on the cross that "he was silent, as if in no wise feeling pain," and reports his words on the cross in the form, "My power, my power, hast thou forsaken me?" But the false teaching to whose evil influence the readers of this epistle were subject was not wholly Christological. There were those too the intent or tendency of whose teaching was to make sin a slight thing not inconsistent with Christian character. In particular was a harsh or unloving spirit toward the brethren indulged or encouraged (3:6-18).

The letter combats these tendencies to false doctrine and immoral life, both by reproving them directly and by insisting upon the recognition of Jesus as the Messiah come in the flesh and upon the duty of Christians to love one another as God loves them, and of keeping themselves from sin. The tendency of the letter is to draw the line very sharply between the world and the children of God, and its purpose is to keep its readers steadfast in doctrine and life, unspotted and separate from the world (1: 3-4; 2: 1, 26; 5: 13).

As respects the plan of the letter, its thought moves in circles rather than in straight lines. The writer emphasizes his chief thoughts, not by extended and separate discussion but by repeated reference. The following is an attempt to show the order of thought:

ANALYSIS OF I JOHN.

- | | |
|---|------------|
| 1. Introduction: The writer's message and his purpose in writing. | 1: 1-4 |
| 2. The duty of Christians to keep themselves from sin, separate from the world, walking in light. | 1: 5—2: 17 |
| 3. Warning against the antichrists who deny that Jesus is the Christ. | 2: 18-29 |
| 4. The high destiny of the children of God and their duty to keep themselves pure from sin. | 3: 1-12 |
| 5. Christians will be hated by the world, but must love one another in truth. | 3: 13-24 |
| 6. Warning against false prophets and their false teaching about Jesus. | 4: 1-6 |
| 7. Exhortation to mutual love, because of God's love toward us. | 4: 7-21 |
| 8. The relation of faith, as acceptance of God's testimony concerning his Son, to love, and to assurance. | 5: 1-13 |
| 9. The duty of Christians to pray for one another. | 5: 14-17 |
| 10. Conclusion: the Christian's certainties. | 5: 18-21 |

The two short letters known as the second and third epistles of John bear no author's name, but the writer designates himself as "the elder." It was doubted even in early times whether they came from the apostle John. But their close resemblance to the first epistle is a strong argument, against which there seems no sufficient counter evidence, for regarding them as proceeding from the same source as that from which the gospel and the first epistle came.

Both letters seem at first sight to be private letters. It has been much disputed, however, whether "the elect lady" to whom the second

is addressed is really a Christian woman or a Christian church. The latter view seems rather more probable (notice the plural pronouns in verses 8 and 10). Not improbably it is written to the church mentioned in v. 9 of the third letter. The children of the elect lady, *i. e.*, on this view the members of the church, are spoken of approvingly, but the presence of many deceivers is mentioned, and the readers of the letter are bidden not to receive any who come to them bringing other than the true teaching. The situation is thus similar to that which the first epistle shows, and the two letters may well belong to nearly the same time.

The third letter is addressed to Gaius, the beloved, to whom the writer pays the high compliment of praying that he may prosper and be in health as his soul prospers. It commends to him the traveling missionaries of the gospel, bidding him set them forward on their journey worthily of God. Who Gaius was is unknown. Diotrephes, a disturber of the church, is strongly condemned. As in the second letter, so in this also the writer announces his intention of coming soon to see his correspondent.

It is impossible to locate these two letters exactly as to time, place, or persons addressed. It is probable that they were written not far from the same time as the first letter, and the three together give us not improbably our latest view of the apostolic age.

Comparative Religion Notes.

Comparative Religion in the Universities, 1895-6.—There have been published in THE BIBLICAL WORLD from time to time statements concerning the progress made in the study of Comparative Religion in the various institutions of the United States. The publication of the handy little compendium of graduate work done from year to year in the United States, known as *Graduate Studies*, has made it an easy matter to collect and present a view of this material for the present year 1895-6. It is impossible to learn from this handbook what the theological seminaries are offering in this line of work except where they are connected with universities. This report, therefore, is imperfect to that extent, for it is undoubtedly the case that many theological seminaries are offering courses of lectures, if not regular instruction, in this subject. But the returns which are given below will, we think, interest and surprise those who may have thought that there was little work of this kind being done. It is to be hoped also that such presentation will stir up those who have the opportunity in other institutions to offer work in the line of the history or philosophy of religion.

Brown University—

President Andrews, The Christian Religion ; Professor Seth, The Philosophy of Religion ; Professor Scott, German Mythology.

The University of Chicago—

Professor Goodspeed, Religions of India, Religions of Greece, Rome and North Europe, Religions of Ancient Persia ; Dr. Barrows, Relation of Christianity to the other Religions ; Dr. Buckley, Religions of China and Japan, Northern Buddhism, Science of Religion, Philosophy of Religion.

Cornell University—

Professor Dyer, Studies in Greek Literature and Religion ; Professor Tyler, History of Religions, Philosophy of Religion, History and Philosophy of Religion (Seminar).

Harvard University—

Professor Parker, Physical Theories of the Stoics, Stoicism in the First and Second Centuries ; Professor Allen, Religion and Worship of the Greeks, Roman Religion and Worship ; Professor Kitteredge, German Mythology ; Professor Toy, History of Hebrew Religion compared with other Semitic Religions, History of Bagdad Caliphate, Mohammedanism in India, History of the Spanish Caliphate ; Professor Everett, Comparative Religion ; Professor Peabody, Philosophy of Religion.

The University of Michigan—

Professor Lloyd, Philosophy of Religion.

The University of Minnesota—

Professor Breda, Norse Mythology and Scandinavian Archæology.

The University of the City of New York—

Professor MacCracken, Philosophy of Theism; Professor Ellinwood, Comparative Religion (advanced), Philosophy of Religion.

Princeton College—

Professor Shields, Harmony of Science and Religion.

Western Reserve University—

Professor Curtis, Greek Philosophy and its Relation to Rise of Christianity; Professor Aikins, Philosophy of Religion; Professor Hulme, Mythology (German).

Yale University—

Dr. Fairbanks, Inscriptions Relative to Greek Religion, Greek Worship and Belief, History of Religion, Beginnings of Religion, Semitic Religions, Comparative Religion (advanced); Professor Harris, Special Studies in Philosophy of Religion.

The recently issued *Year Book* of Boston University contains in the section given to the Divinity School the following programme of the Studies in Comparative Religion given by President Warren who is professor of Comparative Theology and of the History and Philosophy of Religion. The courses are four in number extending through the year, twice a week:

1. General Introduction to the Scientific Study of the Religious Phenomena of the World.
2. The Religious Phenomena of the World Historically Considered. History of Religions and of Religion.
3. The Religious Phenomena of the World Systematically Considered.
4. The Philosophy of Religion. The Religious Phenomena of the World Philosophically Considered.

Parallel with these four courses, and extending through the entire year, runs a continuous study at once, historic, systematic, and philosophic, of the more important religions of the past and present, such as the Chaldæo-Assyrian, the Egyptian, the Chinese, and the chief of the Indo-European. This is conducted by means of assigned questions upon recommended readings, and by essays prepared by each student on assigned themes.

Exploration and Discovery.

THE TEMPLE AT CORINTH.

THE ancient city of Corinth was adorned with many a temple, whose sites and names are duly recorded by Pausanias, the periegete. Of all the rest not so much as a fallen column attracts the eye of the traveler; only the stately ruin shown in the accompanying illustration remains to remind us of the splendor of the fallen city. Even the name of the god to whom this temple was dedicated is forgotten. One has supposed that it was Athene Chalinitis, the Athene who bridled Pegasus for Bellerophon, but it may be Apollo, or either Aphrodite or Poseidon, the two great gods of Corinth, symbols of her commercial prosperity and of her licentiousness. The description of Pausanias gives no clew for the identification. It may be the good fortune of the directors of the American School at Athens, who have turned their attention toward Corinth as a promising field for excavation, to throw light on this question.

Unlike the temples at Sunium, Ægina, Phigalea, and on the Acropolis at Athens, the grandeur of this temple is not enhanced by its being placed on a commanding height. We learn here, as at Pæstum, that the noble severity of the Doric order is grand and impressive in the plain as well as on the mountain top. And yet there is no lack of natural beauty in the surrounding landscape. The steep sides of the Acro-corinthus tower on the south, beyond the narrow valley of the Asopus to the west rises Cyllene, while to the north the plain slopes gently down to the blue waters of the Gulf of Corinth, on the other side of which is seen, on a clear day, the peaks of snow-covered Parnassus.

The massive proportions of the seven lonely columns, 33½ feet high and 5 feet 8 inches broad at the base, the broad, flat capitals, and the dark gray stone, weather-worn and battered, suggest a hoary antiquity. This temple is, in fact, one of the most ancient in Greece, dating from the sixth, perhaps from the seventh, century before Christ. We know very little of its history. Dr. Dörpfeld, the director of the German School at Athens, has shown that the peristyle consisted originally of 38 columns, 6 at each end and 15 on the sides. The temple seems to have escaped serious injury at the time of the destruction of Corinth by Mummius. When the city was rebuilt under Cæsar, it received a new roof, as is shown by the Roman tiles that have been found. There are indications that it shared the fate of most Greek temples during the succeeding centuries, being converted into a church by the Byzantine Christians. Let us hope that it was not desecrated by the Turks, as was the Parthenon. The ruin in which it now lies seems to have been wrought

by time and earthquakes, rather than by man's hand. In the last century, when Stuart visited the site, eleven columns were still standing. Travelers in 1829 reported only the present number, seven. The foundations of these are fast crumbling, and although the Greek government has done its best to



strengthen them, the time cannot be far distant when these columns too shall have fallen, and with them the last standing monument of the splendid city of the Isthmus, Corinth, *lumen totius Graeciae*.

E. C.

ABERCIOUS (AVIRCIOUS), PAGAN OR CHRISTIAN?

THE Antimontanistic Anonymous, 192 or 193 A. D., cited by Eusebius, *C. H.*, V., 16, 3, dedicates his work to a certain Avircius Marcellus (Harnack, *Gesch. der Altchristl. Litteratur*, I., 240-1). This Avircius has been identified by Lightfoot, *Colossians* 54, also *S. Ignatius and S. Polycarp*, I., 476-85; Zahn, *Forschungen zur Geschichte des N. T. Kanons*, V., 1893, pp. 57-99, and others with the Abercius whose fantastic and somewhat legendary biography was written by Simeon Metaphrastes of the second half of the fourth century (*Patrol. Graec.*, CXV, 1211 f. ed. Migne).¹ In this biography is found a copy of the funeral inscription which Abercius had made for himself in his seventy-

¹ See on him Delahaye in *Revue des questions historiques*, 1893, July, 49.

second year of age, in Hexameters, with the exception of verse 2 which is a Pentameter.

In 1881 Ramsay found another funeral inscription of a certain Alexander of Hieropolis in Phrygia, dating of the year 300 of the Sullan era, *i. e.*, 216 A. D., of which ll. 1-3 and 20-22 are an almost identical copy of the Abercius inscription. A metrical mistake in l. 2 proves it to be a copy of the Abercius text, not *vice versa* (see *Bulletin de corresp. hellénique*, July 1882). This Alexander was confessedly a Christian, and lived about the same time as Abercius. A few years later the same discoverer found near Hieropolis fragments, ll. 7-15, of the original Abercius Epitaph.¹ These discoveries gave new impetus to the study of this epitaph called by de Rossi, "The Queen among Christian Inscriptions." Zahn in *Forschungen*, *l. c.*, following Metaphrastes, maintained that Abercius was only a wealthy, influential Christian layman, not a bishop.

The Christian character of the whole inscription, first doubted by Tillemont, *Mémoires*, II., 1694, p. 299, 621 and 663 fol., was assailed by G. Ficker, Privatdocent in Halle, in a communication submitted, through A. Harnack, to the Royal Academy at Berlin and published in their *Sitzungsberichte*, 1894, Feb. 1, pp. 87-112. Ficker wishes to show that Abercius was a priest of the Cybele and that the whole inscription must be explained from the point of view of the mysteries connected with the Cybele worship. Not a word in the whole epitaph proves plainly and unmistakably its Christian origin, not the slightest allusion to the hope of the Christian in death, the *σαρξὸς ἀνάστασις*.

Ficker's interpretation was ridiculed by Duchesne in the *Bulletin Critique*, March 13, 1894, the severe criticism being concurred in by the venerable de Rossi in the *Bullet. di Archeol. Crist.*, 1894, p. 69. Victor Schulze, so well known for his contributions to Christian Archæology, examined in *Theol. Literaturbl.*, 1894, Nos. 18 and 19, very minutely the conclusions arrived at by Ficker and showed a number of weak points undermining the latter's position.

Harnack, feeling somewhat responsible for the contribution of Ficker, came to the latter's help and published a special monograph: *Zur Abercius Inschrift (Texte und Untersuchungen, XII., 4b, pp. 28, Leipzig, 1895)*. On p. 22, l. 7 fol. he comes to the following result: Abercius was either a genuine pagan, or, what seems more probable, a member of that pagan, Gnostic sect in which a Christian *μυστήριον* was combined with pagan mysteries.²

A. Hilgenfeld, in *Zeitschrift für wiss. Theol.*, Vol. XXXVIII., 639, accepted the former alternative, reading in l. 12 Isis instead of *πίστις* faith; that line

¹ See Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, *Jour. of Hellenic Stud.*, 1883, p. 424 ff.; also see *ibid.*, 1882, 339 ff. Harnack, *Geschichte*, I., 258-9.

² "Abercius ist entweder purer Heide gewesen, oder, was wahrscheinlicher, der, Anhänger eines heidnisch gnostischen Kultvereins, in welchem ein christliches Mysterium mit heidnischen Mysterien verbunden war."

was damaged at the time when Simeon Metaphrastes copied the stone and he corrected *πλωρις* into it. Abercius was originally a disciple of the Phrygian Attis who, according to the Gnostic hymn preserved in Hippolytus *Elench.*, V., 9, was called by the Egyptians Osiris and is designated a shepherd. He is sent by this shepherd to Rome, where he saw, during the splendid festival of Isis the Osiris and Isis, the royal pair, and became acquainted with the Isis worshipers. A second central point of his life was a travel through Syria as far as Nisibis, where he followed a certain Paul as his *ἐπόπτης* and was guided by the divine Isis, which as sacred virgin offers him and his companion a large sacred fish.

The latest contributor, Theodor Zahn ("Eine altchristliche Grabschrift und ihre jüngsten Ausleger," *Neue Kirchl. Zeitschr.*, VI., 863-886), stoutly maintains the Christian character of the whole inscription, as well as the unity of place and execution, the latter against Robert in *Hermes*, 1894, p 425 foll.

The following is a translation on the basis of Zahn's latest recension of the text:

1. I, a citizen of an excellent city, have made this (epitaph) during my lifetime, so that I may publicly have a place of rest for my body, my name being Abercius, the disciple of a holy shepherd, who herds flocks of sheep on field and on mountain;
5. who has large eyes, overlooking everything;
for he taught me [the words?] and trustworthy writings.
To Rome he sent me to behold the king
and to see the queen in golden robes, and golden sandals.
A nation I saw there bearing a brilliant seal.
10. And Syria's plain and all the cities I saw, (and) Nisibis,
having crossed the Euphrates. But everywhere I had a companion,
having Paul (sitting) on my chariot. Faith preceded everywhere (as a guide)
and ever placed as a meal before me a fish from the well,
immense, clean, whom a holy virgin had caught.
15. And this (fish) faith gave to the friends at all times,
(faith) having also excellent wine, giving the mixed potion along with the bread.
This have I, Abercius, in my presence, caused to engrave.
seventy years and two I have lived forsooth.
Thou who knowest this, pray for Abercius, whosoever is of like faith.
20. Into my grave let no one bury another.
He that should do thus, shall pay into the Roman treasury 2000,
and to my worthy city Hieropolis 1000 pieces of gold.

W. M.-A.

Work and Workers.

THE fresh transcription of part of the Sinai gospels which was brought by Mrs. S. S. Lewis from Mt. Sinai in the spring of the last year, will be published by the Cambridge University Press in the course of this month. It will be accompanied by a new and complete edition of her translation, and will take the form of a reprint of about one hundred Syriac pages hitherto defective, the complementary portions being in a blue color, to distinguish them from what was transcribed in 1893 by Messrs. Bensly, Harris and Burkitt. Each of these pages will bear an additional number in brackets, corresponding with its number in the volume of 1894, for the convenience of those purchasers who wish to interleave the two. A list of the *lacunæ* which still remain, with the reasons for them, will be included in the volume.

The revision of the current French version of the New Testament, which was undertaken twelve years ago by the general official Synod of the reformed churches of France, has reached completion and is now provisionally published. The common French version which has thus been revised is the Osterwald version, which stood in about the same need of revision as did our King James' version. The French revisers adopted as the Greek text which was to underlie the translation, the Eighth or Ultimate Text of Tischendorf, in Gebhardt's edition (Leipzig: Tauchnitz, 1881). This makes the French and English versions closely akin. The French version has topical paragraphs, with analytic headings, but no marginal readings or notes. The pointing of the verses is somewhat different, perhaps better. Words in the French not found in the original are not indicated by italics or otherwise. The new translation is undoubtedly a decided improvement over the current one, as is the case with the English revision. The committees of the French Synod will now proceed to revise the Osterwald version of the Old Testament.

ONE of the most magnificent publications of our day is the finely illustrated German Bible, prepared by Dr. Rudolf Pfeiderer, of Ulm, and published in three large volumes—the Stuttgart Verlags Institute. It contains 135 full-page and a great abundance of smaller illustrations of the biblical text. The editor's aim was to select from the whole range of biblical art, from the days of the early Renaissance of the fifteenth century to our own times, the most characteristic pictures illustrating the text of the Scriptures. In contradistinction to Doré's "*salonstyle*," it was his purpose to select those that, from a religious as well as an artistic point of view, were representative and typical. Not only have the best-known pictures of the kind been reproduced in a manner

that leaves but little to be desired, but with the instinct of a true artist, the editor has found, in unfrequented galleries and rare collections of works, a goodly number of Bible pictures that are exceptionally valuable. In most cases these pictures have been reproduced as woodcuts; only a few in photographic or half-tone style. Such a collection of the very best Bible pictures from the pencils of the best artists of the last few centuries has never before been published. The best Bible illustrations of all these centuries are here represented. Unfortunately, one or two of the best modern school, especially Hofmann, are not represented, as their productions are secured by copyright to other publishers, who refused permission to have them appear in this collection. The text here used is that of the Revised Halle Bible. This magnificent work is simply invaluable for the study of the history of Bible art.

THE new course for 1896 in the Bible Study Union Graded Lessons is upon the Teachings of Christ, the aim of the course being "to present a complete outline of the teachings of our Lord in their chronological order and historical connections, and in such a way that the immediate occasion of each of his discourses shall be made clear, and the divine power of his words be felt." The portions of teaching are taken up one by one in the order in which they appear in the chronological arrangement of the gospel material which was adopted for the previous historical course. Perhaps this way of studying the teachings of Christ is the best that the Sunday Schools are yet prepared for—certainly it is an advance over previous ways of studying those teachings. But in fact it is an imperfect and unsatisfactory way. It makes a great deal of the chronological order and the circumstances of the teachings, things which in the main make no difference whatever; it views the teachings in fragments instead of collectively and coördinately; the comprehensive view of the teachings which enables one to interpret single teachings in the light of the whole, and to see the relations of the several teachings to each other, is not possible by this arrangement; and no regard is taken of the fact that the first three gospels are the main source for ascertaining the teachings of Jesus, while the fourth gospel presents an account which must be used supplementally to that of the first three, and has peculiarities of its own which must be understood. No one could ever get the true view of Jesus' teachings by studying them in the piecemeal way in which these studies arrange them—it would be like viewing a magnificent landscape one square foot at a time, instead of from an eminence whence the whole scene can be viewed at once; or like seeing the ocean one drop at a time. If the Sunday Schools in general are not yet ready for the study of the teachings of Christ in the best way, many Bible classes and other groups of students are, and they should be provided with a competent guide to such a study.

THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

GENERAL INSTITUTE NOTES.

The following names have been added to the Council of Seventy since the publication of the list in the BIBLICAL WORLD of March.

New Testament Chamber.—Professor C. J. H. Ropes, Bangor, Maine; Professor M. W. Jacobus, D.D., Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.

Old Testament Chamber.—Professor Charles F. Kent, Brown University, Providence, R. I.; Professor L. B. Paton, Hartford Theological Seminary, Hartford, Conn.; Professor O. H. Gates, Oberlin Theological Seminary, Oberlin, Ohio; Professor Charles R. Brown, Newton Theological Institution, Newton Center, Mass.; Professor Sylvester Burnham, Colgate University, Hamilton, N. Y.

General Chamber.—Chancellor O. C. S. Wallace, McMaster University, Toronto, Canada.

The assignment of instructors to summer schools to date is as follows: Chautauqua, see page 380; Bay View, Professors F. K. Sanders of Yale, and Edward L. Parks of Atlanta, Ga.; Lakeside, Professor Lincoln Hulley of Bucknell University; Lake Madison, Professor Edward L. Parks; Mont-eagle, Professor Hulley; Macatawa Park, Dr. H. L. Willett, The University of Chicago; Rocky Mountain, Dr. Wilbur F. Steele, University of Denver; Louisiana, Professor C. K. Crawford, Danville Theological Seminary, Kentucky; Winona, Ind., Professor C. K. Crawford; Pertle Springs, Mo., Professor Edward T. Harper of Chicago Theological Seminary.

A new phase of the Correspondence Department of the Institute seems to be the possibility of affiliation with other institutions desiring to do the same work. The Central Wesleyan College of Missouri is introducing a correspondence department. It will avail itself of the use of the Institute correspondence courses in Hebrew, New Testament Greek, and the English Bible by placing the students in these courses under the instruction of the Institute. Another western college is contemplating a similar arrangement, of which announcement will be made later.

The committees of judges for the Prize Examinations of 1897 are as follows:

Hebrew.—Professor E. T. Harper, Chicago Theological Seminary; Professor H. G. Mitchell, Boston University; Professor C. F. Kent, Brown University.

New Testament Greek.—Professor J. Henry Thayer, Harvard University; Professor C. J. H. Ropes, Bangor, Maine; Professor Shailer Mathews, University of Chicago.

The English Bible.—Principal G. M. Grant, Queen's College, Kingston, Canada; President W. G. Ballantine, Oberlin College; President C. J. Little, Garret Biblical Institute, Evanston, Ill.

The date of these examinations will be March 10, 1897.

The Woman's Christian Temperance Union is, through its state evangelists, endeavoring to introduce the Outline Bible Club Course wherever their work is carried. The Young Woman's Branch is also pledged to coöperation by its leader, Mrs. Frances J. Barnes. This means that thousands of women all over the world will be introduced to the work by some one of their own number during the coming year.

These organizations are so identified with the *temperance* work that perhaps it is not generally known that every state has its *biblical* evangelist and that much effort is expended in making the study of the Bible an important element in the work of the organization.

Full announcement of the books to be used by the members of the Bible Students' Reading Guild will be made in the June issue of the BIBLICAL WORLD.

BIBLE STUDY AT CHAUTAUQUA.

A GENERAL movement in favor of summer schools of science, literature and language has characterized the educational development of the past decade. In harmony with this idea there has also been instituted a group of summer schools or meetings for the special study of the Bible. Many of these are well known, as the Moody school at Northfield, the Y. M. C. A. meeting at Lake Geneva, and the schools in connection with the various Chautauquas of the country. A new school under the control of the Baptists, meeting at Jackson, Tenn., will next summer undertake the distinct work of training Sunday school teachers. The need of this last school is manifest, yet its success remains to be demonstrated.

Two distinct ideas characterize these schools and divide them naturally into two classes. First are those which consider the Bible in its immediate relation to the Christian work of evangelization, and second, those which take up only one phase of the evangelistic idea, that of the Sunday school, and in addition lay great stress upon the importance of the Bible as in itself a worthy field of study from the historical, social and religious point of view. To this class belongs Chautauqua and its related institutions.

The Bible school at Chautauqua came into existence because this subject was necessary to complete the cycle of a well-rounded curriculum. We do not ignore the Sunday school normal work which was in the foundation scheme of Chautauqua. This has its special place, and is of special importance, but it is necessarily an outline work including much beside the purely biblical element.

The classes in Hebrew and New Testament Greek offered in connection with the college at Chautauqua were the progenitors of this new department, the schools of sacred literature, which were organized in 1888. The addition of several courses in the English Bible made the title a legitimate one.

From the first it was deemed proper to bring together instructors of differing critical views, and of different religious denominations. A list of instructors and the courses offered from the beginning would be interesting, but we have space for only a few representative names. It should be remembered that almost without exception these men have given simultaneously courses in the original languages and in the English Bible.

Professor Wm. Henry Green, Dr. John A. Broadus, President Geo. S. Burroughs, President W. G. Ballantine, Professor Marcus D. Buell, Professor James F. McCurdy, Professor Jas. S. Riggs, Professor S. Z. Batten, Professor R. W. Rogers, Professor W. W. Moore, Professor Sylvester Burnham, Professor

David G. Lyon. (The editor of this JOURNAL has given instruction each year since the foundation of the school.)

It will easily be seen that the platform upon which these men of wide scholarship and yet differing views could work, is one of pure study and not polemics. The single object of the school is to aid people to study the Bible for themselves by dignified and proper methods. Results are, when given, presented as tentative and in order to stimulate the student to seek them for himself.

A wonderful diversity is shown in the constituency of this school, although not a large one (between 200 and 300 students). We find ministers side by side with housewives, college students, young people from Christian organizations, and the occasional sightseer who drops in for the day. Of course each receives benefit according to his earnestness, his preparation, and his object, yet the constant return of students from year to year shows that something is gained by all.

Mention of courses to be offered during the coming season (July 11 to August 21) was made in the May number of this periodical, but a repetition of them here will not be superfluous.

First three weeks: Hebrew History, Professor Edw. L. Curtis (Yale University); The Times of the Christ, Professor Shailer Mathews (The University of Chicago); Studies in the Earlier Prophets, Professor William R. Harper (The University of Chicago).

Second three weeks: The Hebrew Psalter, Professor F. K. Sanders (Yale University); The Life of the Christ (with special reference to the development of his idea concerning the kingdom of God), Professor Mathews; Studies in the Earlier Prophets, Professor Harper.

In addition to the beginning courses in Hebrew and New Testament Greek, running through the entire six weeks, the following exegetical courses will be given: (1) The first twelve chapters of the Acts. (2) The letter to the Galatians. In these courses special attention will also be given to the peculiarities of the New Testament Greek and to the syntax. The work will be conducted by Professor Mathews. The instructors in Hebrew will be Professors Sanders and Curtis of Yale, and Professor McClenahan of the United Presbyterian Theological Seminary at Allegheny, Pa. The advanced courses will cover selected Messianic prophecies, Psalms, and some of the minor prophets.

The Saturday morning open conferences upon the work of the week are especially interesting as also the Sunday morning Bible studies.

The English work in Hebrew history will cover the period of the International Sunday school lessons for July to December, 1896.

Many men of wide reputation whom it is impossible to obtain for classroom work are invited to visit Chautauqua for a brief time and to give public lectures in harmony with the biblical work. A special feature is made of such lectures, and students have thus been enabled to come into personal contact

with men whose names are famous as commentators and biblical scholars. In 1895 a special pleasure lay in the visit of Professor Alexander Balmain Bruce of Scotland, and Principal Fairbairn of England, and in 1896 Professor James Agar Beet of Richmond, England, and Professor George Adam Smith of Glasgow, Scotland, will give lectures. Professor Beet will discuss "A Theologian's Thoughts on Evolution," and Professor Smith will speak on Hebrew Poetry.

For the minister who is debating in his mind the weighty questions of criticism, for the busy man or woman who has no time at other seasons to do more than devotional reading, for the earnest worker in the Christian organization of the day who is elsewhere constantly giving out, but who may now have a brief season of leisure to devote himself to replenishing his mind and refreshing his body, these opportunities for Bible study at Chautauqua will be full of stimulus and life.

G. L. C.

JACOB'S WELL. (FRONTISPIECE.)

Few sites in Palestine are more certain than this. The well is lined with stones and is more than a hundred feet deep and about seven and a half feet in diameter. The reason for its having been dug is doubtful since there are streams today in its immediate vicinity, but as Robinson suggests, the earthquakes with which Palestine has been shaken may have changed the direction of the watershed. Some travelers discover water in the well today, but Smith thinks that it is impossible to be certain of the fact, since its bottom is choked with stones. Its top is covered by a stone, through an opening in which it is possible to lower water-jars.

Communications and Questions.

So many questions and communications of general interest are received by the editors of the Biblical World, that it has seemed best to publish such of them as seem especially important, together with such answers as may be suggested.

Will you kindly afford me counsel as to a few books I desire to buy? What is the best Old Testament introduction, so far as up-to-date knowledge, thoroughness and evangelical spirit is concerned? Is there now anything better than Driver regarding the latter point? What is there in New Testament introduction with the above qualities? With regard to Messianic prophecies or the kingdom of God in the Old Testament, how does Delitzsch's work bear comparison with others? Who has done for Jeremiah and Ezekiel what Delitzsch did for Isaiah and the Psalms? Is it wise to buy anything on Daniel now?

H. A. R.

There is nothing better in Old Testament introduction, so far as the points raised are concerned, than the work of Driver. The best New Testament introduction from a conservative point of view is that of Salmon. Delitzsch is not so good for Messianic prophecy as Orelli (*Old Testament Prophecy*), who will also be found valuable for work upon Jeremiah and Ezekiel. It is not wise to buy anything in English on Daniel at present.

Will you indicate the most important works on Old Testament introduction?

Several of the most important works on this subject are in German and have not been translated. A few of these will first be mentioned. Quite old but of value is the work of de Wette, *Einleitung*, 7th ed., 1869, edited by Schrader. Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 4th ed., 1878, edited by Wellhausen, is of special value on certain points, particularly higher criticism and textual criticism. The fifth edition, 1886, omits some of the material of the fourth edition. Others of importance are Riehm, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Vol. I., 1889, Vol. II., 1890; Reuss *Die Geschichte der Heiligen Schriften Alten Testaments*, 2d ed., 1890; Cornill, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 2d ed., 1892; and König, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, 1893. Of special importance is Kuenen's *Historisch-kritische Einleitung in die Bücher des Alten Testaments*, in three parts, which is usually quoted under the Dutch

name, *Historisch-critisch Onderzoek*, 2d ed., 1885-92, of which it is a translation. This is admirable in its fulness of treatment and fairness of spirit. With these may be put, although it deals less with the books themselves than with their constituent parts, Wildeboer, *Die Litteratur des Alten Testaments*, 1895, which is a translation from the Dutch. Of English works, the following may be mentioned: Keil, *Introduction*, 2 volumes, 1869, a translation from the German; C. H. H. Wright, *Introduction*, 2d ed., 1891; *Book by Book*, 1892, prepared by several men of eminence; and Driver, *Introduction*, 1891, which has reappeared since in new editions without material change. The last is probably the best work in English on the subject. Its presentation of disputed subjects from both points of view enables the average reader to judge somewhat for himself. Many others might be mentioned, some of considerable value. No attempt has been made to indicate the particular views held by each author, this list will be found to include all shades of opinion.

What language did Christ and the apostles speak?

This much agitated question cannot be said to have been finally settled as yet. It will be sufficient here to indicate the general course of the arguments which have been used. There are several undoubted facts, which, however, seem somewhat contradictory. (1) Hebrew, as the language of conversation in Palestine, was supplanted by Aramaic about the third century B. C. It still continued, however, to be used in the worship, and to a certain extent to be understood by the people. (2) The official language of Palestine under the Romans was prevailingly Greek rather than Latin. (3) The whole of the New Testament, as we now have it, is written in Greek, and it must be remembered that the authors are the apostles and their companions. An original gospel is supposed, on considerable evidence, to have been written in Aramaic, which has been lost. (4) The Old Testament was chiefly used in the form of the Septuagint, or Greek translation. This is shown, among other evidence, by the fact that a majority of the New Testament quotations of the Old are from the Septuagint. These facts certainly show an acquaintance of the apostles with Greek, and might be thought to indicate that Greek had supplanted Aramaic, as Aramaic did Hebrew, as the ordinary language of intercourse. But another fact is opposed to this. (5) The gospels contain numerous traces of the vernacular language of the people. These consist of more than twenty single words and proper names, such as Abba, Barabbas, etc., together with several sentences used by Jesus given in the original, all of which are plainly Aramaic. This may be considered as decisive in favor of the Aramaic as the popular language. At the same time, probably Christ and all the apostles were acquainted with Greek, and perhaps used it in conversation on official occasions. Other arguments are used, which, however, point to the same general conclusion.

Synopses of Important Articles.

JESUS THE DEMAGOGUE. By WALTER WALSH, in *Contemporary Review* for March 1886.

The ideal Christ has changed with changing times. A theological age shaped for itself a theological Christ and a sociological age is shaping for itself a sociological Christ. The churches have come under the spell of the new ideas, but during the absence of an ideal Christ that shall combine the historical elements of the gospels with all that is good and true in modern sociology, impatient revolutionaries have constructed a new Jesus—Jesus the Demagogue. This new phase of the ideal Christ is a reversion to a lower type. So far as the socialistic movement at all holds to Christianity it represents a yearning for temporal leadership rather than for spiritual kingship. It has scant appreciation for Jesus as a reformer of moral habits or a teacher of spiritual qualities. He is represented as an agitator for higher wages and shorter hours; the first century herald of a socialistic era—a sort of sublimated Keir Hardie.

In order to substantiate this view, new and ingenious turns are given the sacred narrative, the principle of interpretation being to place the political effect in the place of the moral cause. As a result Jesus the spiritual regenerator becomes Jesus the political propagandist. For example, by the socialist hermeneutics the two exceptional cases of feeding the multitudes are broadened into the doctrine that Jesus cared more for bodies than for souls, and the refusal of Jesus to be made king is said to have been due to the fact that he was a republican. The republican theory is reinforced by an ingenious socialistic turn given to his occasional freedom with certain swine and asses, and his scant respect for the money changers. These facts are made to show that Jesus was a communist. Neglecting facts that make against this view, the story of Dives and Lazarus is used to prove that Jesus cared more for property than for character.

But the authority of the early Christians can be claimed for state socialism only by playing havoc with the facts of apostolic religion. The primitive Christian bore no enmity to government. Reforms were to be brought about by spiritual regenerations.

Writers on the new socialism in claiming the support of Jesus have led us into a shallower view of Christ rather than into a deeper. The formulated programme becomes increasingly secular. The universal summons of Jesus to service and self renunciation is forged into a new missile to hurl at the

wealthier classes and degraded into an argument for the universal right to creature comforts.

Confronted with this materialistic theory, we begin to understand our debt to Matthew Arnold for his exposition of the *inwardness* of Jesus. For the Jesus of the gospels was no such leader as the socialist portrays. The way of the cross is foolishness to those who seek after political wisdom and demand a revolutionary sign. The inwardness of the method of Jesus is ludicrously slow and unbusiness-like to the revolutionist and political millennialist. Believers in the gospel of Rousseau have merely to revise the social contract, and lo! the millennium is at the door; while the gospel of Jesus requires the regeneration of the human spirit as the tremendous preliminary to successful revision. It would be a great gain if materialistic state socialists, on the one hand, and enthusiastic humanitarian Christians, on the other, could be induced to proclaim less loudly that "Socialism is Christianity." The sanction of Jesus for any just reform can be claimed without fastening him down to theories of which he never heard, and making him stand sponsor for political ideas he might repudiate. The way of the cross is the only way to social emancipation. Jesus the Demagogue can profit nothing; but Jesus the Son of Man.

We sympathize heartily with the criticisms contained in this striking paper. There is altogether too strong a tendency toward making Jesus nothing more than a reformer of the ills of today's society. Jesus did indeed inaugurate a new social order, but he began by showing men how they must become sons of God and therefore brothers. There is vast help in the gospels for the man who is endeavoring to help the oppressed, but the philanthropist should never imagine that the chief element in Christianity is the establishment of lodging-houses and the obtaining of low fares on street cars. The key-word of the social teachings of Jesus is not amelioration but regeneration.

S. M.

JESUS UND DAS ALTE TESTAMENT, EIN ZWEITES ERNSTES WORT AN DIE EVANGELISCHEN CHRISTEN. VON PROFESSOR LIC. J. MEINHOLD. Cf. *Christliche Welt*, Leipzig, 1896, No. 2.

In order to discern clearly science is often compelled to separate and isolate that which in life is found united. This process is necessary in order to appreciate fully Jesus' position over against the Old Testament. Outwardly Christ nowhere assumes a different relation to the Old Testament from that occupied by his contemporaries. The deepest reverence for the Scriptures amounting even to considering the very letter sound, he shared with the people of his day. He regarded those same men as the scribes of the sacred text and authors of the holy books which the rabbis considered such. He considered Moses as the author of the entire Pentateuch, David the author of the Psalms, Isaiah's book as consisting of sixty-six chapters, and Daniel as the writer of the book bearing his name. He considered the stories narrated in

these books as transpiring in the manner accepted by the scribes of his day, beginning with the account of the Creation, the Fall, the murder of Abel, down to the murder of Zechariah, from the beginning of Genesis to the close of Chronicles. For him the primitive fathers were real persons, the patriarchs really lived, and Jesus doubtlessly never entertained a doubt but that Balaam's ass really spoke. Whoever does not with him believe all this, (*i. e.*, breaks in any particular with the rabbinical literary criticism of Christ's day,) thereby refuses to accept the authority of Christ in outward matters.

But not only was Jesus in agreement with his times in such literary questions but he was influenced by the Jewish world of thoughts outwardly in a most decided way. It is not to be so understood that in questions that were indifferent from a scientific point of view he shared the erroneous opinions of the hour without further investigations, but that in questions pertaining to life and the philosophy of things (*Weltanschauung*) he broke with Jewish narrow-mindedness. In both respects he was a thorough child of his age. He considers the whole law with all its cultus commands as binding for all life and for all times. His saying that he who violates even one of the smallest ordinances is guilty of the whole, is practically regarded by him as applicable to the entire thought. Circumcision and fasts, sacrifices and Paschah, Sabbath and temple were often enough judged by Jesus from the standpoint of the law demanding for all of its parts, especially the ritual, the dignity of eternal authority. And even his own mission Christ interprets as pertaining only to the favored people of the Jews. Even his disciples are directed, down to his return, to preach the gospel only to the Jews. From the entire picture thus secured, it is apparent that Jesus' *outward* position over against the Old Testament has not for us authoritative character.

The inner relation of Jesus to the Old Testament presents an entirely different picture. Jesus has fulfilled the Old Testament. Every fulfilment in the nature of the case is a dissolution. And Jesus was clearly conscious of the fact that in principle his position dissolved the Old Testament. It is true that Jesus' person and teaching are rooted in the Old Testament peoples and the Old Testament religion. And yet he stands with his teachings in the most irreconcilable contrast to the Old Testament religion of his contemporaries. In three points particularly does this contrast of the New to the Old appear in the most pronounced shape, *viz.*, in Jesus' doctrine of God; in his doctrine of the worship of God; in his doctrine of his own person.

Jesus teaches concerning God that he is a "spirit," and that he is perfect love. In teaching this he goes away beyond the Old Testament, even beyond the greatest of the prophets, who had indeed prepared the way for this doctrine, but had never been able to present it in its purity separated from its fleshly surroundings of carnal hopes. If God is a spirit, then it follows that the "Word of God" must be something spiritual, and can never be something in any way mechanical, *e. g.*, holy words, or holy letters, or "Sacred Scriptures." God's word dare no longer, as was done in the Old Testament, be materialized

and be dragged from the spiritual into the material and human ; and especially the theophanies reported in the Old Testament can in no way be brought into agreement with the word of Jesus, that none but the Son hath seen the Father—which words were spoken directly in reference to the Old Testament.

True worship of God according to Jesus' teaching consists solely in faith. The old ritualistic law has no more authority for him. Accordingly, man is also the lord of the Sabbath, because the Sabbath has been made for man. What a chasm between Jesus and the law! And, again, what an advance on the part of Jesus over against the prophets! True, these two know something of the true and real faith which makes up real worship of God ; but their confidence is in Jehovah the God of Israel. Jesus, on the other hand, bases his faith on that God who is the Father of all.

Concerning his own person Jesus teaches that he is not *that* Messiah who is described in the Old Testament prophecies. Yes, Christ is not the Messiah promised by the Old Testament! The latter was to be a worldly ruler, Jesus Christ is a lord in the realm of spirits. Nor is this the fulfilment of the Old Testament predictions "in a different spirit or sense," but it is actually no realization of the Old Testament Messianic picture. Jesus regards himself as the realization of an entirely different picture, namely, that of the servant of God. His purpose it is to fulfil the missions attributed to this servant by the prophets of Israel, by which Israel is become the mediator of salvation to the Gentiles. Jesus declined to be regarded as the fulfilment of Messianic hopes ; before his eye he saw the vision of the servant of God. But he was to be the mediator not only between God and Israel ; for this every prophet was to be regarded himself as the mediator between God and the whole world.

What a difference between Christ's inner and external attitude toward the Old Testament. Can such a contrast be possible in one person! The contrast (*Widerspruch*) actually exists. He who adheres to Jesus' inner position must be content to accept that in his external relation to the Old Testament, not a few erroneous views were entertained by him. In Jesus we find the same state of affairs that we do in any reformer. The new ideas press forward with determined vehemence, but the conclusions are not by himself drawn in every case.

This remarkable discussion has a history. It is the outcome of a controversy starting in opposition to the famous "Bonn Vacation Lectures," in which Meinhold presented the newer results of criticism to a company of those pastors. His position was attacked throughout the land, and his first reply was found in his brochure *Wider den Kleinglauben*, in which he tried to show that only a lack of faith could refuse an acceptance of the critical views. This is the positive exposition of his teachings, and, in many respects, representative. It is clear and transparent and needs no commentary. While it is impossible to agree with all of Meinhold's positions, notably with his view that Jesus taught that he was not the Old Testament Messiah, a careful reading will furnish an abundance of material for thought.

G. H. S.

Book Reviews.

Aussercanonische Paralleltexte zu den Evangelien. Drittes Heft. Paralleltex-te zu Lucas gesammelt und untersucht von ALFRED RESCH. Pp. xii.+847. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs' sche, Buchhandlung 1895. Price, 27 marks.

The industry with which Dr. Resch is endeavoring to recover as much as possible of the lost Ur-Evangelium and to define the relations of the synoptic gospels to it is so phenomenal as to astound even those familiar with the laborious methods of German scholarship. "Agrapha" appeared in 1889. The introduction to the present work was issued in 1893. The examination of the Gospels of Matthew and Mark covering more than 450 pages came out in 1894; and now our attention is challenged by a volume of more than eight hundred pages dealing with the latest and most historical of the synop-tists.

The critical basis of this new portion of the work is the same as in the earlier parts, and there is no change in the method of treatment. That the language of the Ur-Evangelium was Hebrew is as stoutly maintained as ever. Aramaic is pronounced impossible. Repeated study of the Evangelium Hierosolymitanum has led to the final conviction that the assumption of an Aramaic text for the original source "involves an impossibility" (p. 10). The confidence of Dr. Resch, indeed, on this and on other subjects is at times amusing. Again and again his conclusions are propounded as "indu-bitable."

His theory about the materials worked up in the third gospel is in sub-stance as follows: There were three principal sources. (1) A Hebrew docu-ment on the early life of Jesus, entitled תולדות ישוע. (2) The Ur-Evan-gelium, the Hebrew gospel composed by the apostle Matthew, beginning at the baptism, carrying on the story to the ascension, and closing with a list of the disciples. It was called דברי ישוע the word דברי being used as in 1 Chronicles 29:29 (דברי שמואל הנביא): in the Revised Version "history of Samuel the seer") and elsewhere. As this word was loosely rendered by Papias λόγια it came to be assumed that the document dealt chiefly with the words of Jesus, that in fact it was a collection of sayings rather than a record. Its character and extent were consequently both lost sight of. It was not regarded as a true gospel, and was supposed to end with the anointing at Bethany. (3) The document known as the Gospel of Mark, an eclectic adaptation of the דברי ישוע with Petrine reminiscence. Of course it did not contain the last twelve verses of our printed text which proceed from another hand. There were also two subsidiary sources. (a) A few passages,

5:1-11 and 13:10-17, for instance, together with a number of touches found principally in the story of the Passion, are ascribed to tradition. (b) The Jewish Christian document known to us as "the Gospel according to Matthew" was regularly consulted.

In the treatment of his materials the third evangelist was strongly influenced by four considerations. He attached great importance to the Ur-Evangelium, especially for the didactic portions. He valued highly the Gospel of Mark, particularly for the narrative elements. He tried to economize, both in selection and reproduction; and he endeavored to supply omissions in the writings of his two synoptic predecessors. The third of these four points, the idea of which was thrown out by Storr as early as 1786 is frequently pressed on the reader's notice, and is illustrated near the end of the volume by a list of about seventy passages, for each of which our author thinks that he has discovered extra-canonical evidence of condensation. The nature of some of these supposed omissions and of the testimony considered sufficient may be judged from one example. The statement found in the Codex Bezae and the B text of the Acts of Pilate that the penitent robber turned to Jesus as he said "Jesus, remember me when thou comest in thy kingdom" (Luke 23:42), is pronounced a touch in the original narrative removed by our evangelist. As an authority concerning the life and teaching of Jesus this gospel is believed to take the highest place among the synoptists: "Luke is the impartial historian of the New Testament who depends solely on his authorities and uses them faithfully." A Pauline tendency is therefore denied. The similarity which can be undoubtedly traced between Paul and Luke is satisfactorily accounted for on the assumption that both used the *דברי ישוע* according to the same Greek type of version.

As a separate division of the work will deal with the portions of Matthew and Luke which relate to the childhood of Jesus, the present volume takes no notice of the first and second chapters. It includes, however, the account of the ascension in Acts 1:4-13, which is thought to represent the close of the Ur-Evangelium, and to be the only detailed account we possess of the Lord's final departure. The closing verses of the gospel which are usually read as a duplicate of the narrative in Acts are considered to refer to the manifestation alluded to by Paul in the words: "then he appeared to above five hundred brethren at once" (1 Cor. 15:6). The "parting from them," and even the carrying up into heaven, mean nothing more than disappearance. These startling suggestions are worth considering, but the reasoning by which they are supported does not carry conviction. It needs more, for example, than the obscure expression of the newly discovered Syriac version in Luke 23:46, "and his spirit went up," the not less obscure statements of the Latin translation of Origen to the effect that when Jesus had expired "receptus est," and the very doubtful testimony of the Docetic gospel of Peter to prove that *ἀνεφέρετο* and *ἀνελήφθη* (Acts 1:2) mean anything less than ascension in the ordinary sense of the term.

It is unfortunate that a considerable part of the book had gone through the press before the just-mentioned Syriac text could be utilized. It is first referred to on p. 331, so that its very singular setting of the story of the visit of Jesus to the household of Martha and Mary, is not included among the illustrations. And even the references in the latter part of the volume seem to have been taken only from a list of the more interesting readings supplied by Professor Nestle.

It is still premature to express a definite opinion about the value of these researches into the contents of the Ur-Evangelium and the use made of it by the synoptists. In any case they are full of interest, and must contribute considerably to the solution of the problem. The effort to prove that the Apostle Matthew (the author of the Ur-Evangelium) wrote in Hebrew ought not to be treated with contempt or indifference. Whether it succeed or fail it will at least have done much (like the attempt of Professor Marshall to establish Aramaic as the original tongue) to demonstrate the importance of familiarity with Semitic thought and speech for the right understanding of the New Testament. The extra-canonical illustrations which are drawn as in the preceding parts of the work from a vast number of writings include (as the compiler is no doubt well aware) much of comparatively slight value. It is surely not improbable that some of the variations cited as pointing to the original text of the Ur-Evangelium arose through failure of memory or habitual looseness of quotation. And the worth of many other references is uncertain because scholars are by no means at one as to the exact significance of the sources from which they are taken. In reference to the Acts of Pilate, for example, there must be not a few who would subscribe to the opinion of Loisy that this apocryphal document is "a very weak authority" rather than to the high estimate of Dr. Resch. And the place of the Greek text of Codex Bezae is not yet settled. Were the theory of Professor J. Rendel Harris to prove correct, or partially correct, several of the critical rules laid down in Heft I. (p. 36) and followed in this volume would be seriously shaken. So it is at least safe to assert that many of the conclusions rest on a foundation the security of which has not yet been demonstrated. It may be solid rock, but it is possible that further research may prove it to be shifting sand.

Whatever the result, this volume, like its predecessors, will long be prized by students on account of its vast stores of curious and useful information and its extraordinary suggestiveness. Well-known incidents are exhibited from new points of view. Familiar sayings are shown to have had a different significance for some of the early Christians from that which we are accustomed to find in them. Among the most striking paragraphs are those which illustrate the home life of Jesus, the temptation in the wilderness, the Lord's treatment of Martha and Mary, the parables of the prodigal son and of the rich man and Lazarus, the day of the last supper and its relation to the Jewish passover, the walk to Emmaus, and the names of the twelve disciples. Apart from its special purpose this magnificent book is well worthy of the close

study of teachers and preachers for the sake of the manifold light which it sheds on the gospel story. W. T. S.

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Epistle to the Romans. By the REV. WILLIAM SANDAY, D.D., LL.D., and the REV. ARTHUR C. HEADLAM, B.D. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, cxii.+450. Price \$3.

This commentary is the first New Testament volume of a projected series which is to cover the entire Bible. The authors of the series, so far as announced, include, for the Old Testament, eight British and nine American scholars, and for the New Testament, seven British and four American scholars. Two of the American contributors are resident in Chicago. The work appears under the general editorship of Professor Briggs, Professor Driver and Dr. Alfred Plummer.

The New Testament series has been worthily opened by the commentary on Romans, which on the back bears the name *Sanday*, the well-known scholar of Oxford, but which is the joint work of this professor and the Rev. A. C. Headlam.

It is said in the preface that it is no part of the design of the book to be "in the least degree exhaustive," but I think it will be found quite exhaustive enough by "clergymen and students," for whom the entire series is especially designed. It contains 112 closely-packed pages of introduction, and 450 pages of commentary. Its introduction is thus more elaborate than the discussion of the same topics in special treatises on New Testament Isagogics, for example, those of Weiss and Holtzmann. The discussions in the introduction are very comprehensive and impartial. Even thorough students of the epistle will find here much that is suggestive and helpful. The commentary does not give the text of the epistle, either the Greek or the English. It gives, in the first place, a brief statement of the thought of a section; then, throughout the doctrinal portion (1-11), it follows this brief statement with a much fuller one, which aims to give the course of the argument from verse to verse. Few people could go through the volume, reading consecutively the summaries and paraphrases, without being impressed anew and more deeply with the greatness and fulness of Paul's thought. These paraphrases are followed by the detailed exegesis, and this from time to time by what the authors call *Detached Notes*. Of these there are forty-two, and they discuss briefly all the leading ideas of the epistle, together, with many other interesting points.

The book is scientific in character, and therefore it is interesting to see that the results reached are in essential agreement with the great articles of the faith of the church. For example, in speaking of that passage which has been called the marrow of Christian theology (Rom. 3:31-26), the authors say that "it is impossible to get rid from this passage of the double idea (1) of a sacrifice; (2) of a sacrifice which is propitiatory." The words with which they close the note on this subject may be taken as illustrative, in

various ways, of the spirit of the book: "We believe that the Holy Spirit spoke through these writers (Paul, John, etc.), and that it was his will that we should use this word (propitiation). But it is a word which we must leave to him to interpret. We drop our plummet into the depth, but the line attached to it is too short, and it does not touch the bottom. The awful processes of the Divine Mind we cannot fathom. Sufficient for us to know that through the virtue of the One Sacrifice our sacrifices are accepted that the barrier which sin places between us and God is removed, and that there is a 'sprinkling' which makes us free to approach the throne of grace."

The analysis of the argument of the epistle is as a whole clear and good. There are some sections, for example, chap. 5 and chaps. 9-11, where one cannot agree with their interpretation, but the subject is too large to be taken up in detail in this place.

It is to be hoped that the series will continue to the end on the high plane upon which this initial volume moves. So doing it will be a fitting culmination of the exegesis of this most exegetical century.

G. H. GILBERT.

The Spirit in Literature and Life. The E. D. Randolph Lectures in Iowa College for the Year 1894. By JOHN PATTERSON COYLE, D.D. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin & Co., 1896. Pp. xii+247. \$1.50.

We have in this work one more of the hopeful signs of the approaching readjustment of the theology of the past to the needs and scholarship of the present. The author has apparently no hesitation in accepting the views of the modern critical school, so far as the Old Testament is concerned, and in the sections that deal with the New Testament he shows openness of mind and a willingness to believe that thus, too, criticism has reached some permanent results. Yet at the end he stands upon evangelical ground, while the entire course of the book is marked by spiritual earnestness.

The fundamental thought of the book springs from the identification of the spirit of Jesus with the progressive spirit of the Hebrews. This Hebrew spirit is not meant by the author to be synonymous with what may be called the ideas of Hebraism, but on the other hand it is not a personality. It is a pure phenomenon which is real because it is the expression of a force. That is to say, the spirit is used in much the same sense as in the phrase "spirit of the age." It is filial, it is personal, it is ethical, it is, above all, social. All these elements are also to be seen in the spirit as religious, and through this conception the author arrives at a restatement of evangelical theology.

The book, as a whole, is marked by steady progress in thought. The general plan is to trace the working of this Hebrew spirit up through the Old Testament and then through the teaching and the life of Jesus. The force of the spirit of Jesus is discovered thus in its historical source and the power of the Hebrew spirit itself is illustrated in its preparation to meet the world crisis of the first century, when the spirit of Rome and the spirit of Greece

proved unequal to the task. So far as the author is engaged in the history of the Hebrew spirit, his work halts somewhat and he is to a considerable degree dependent upon Bruce's *Apologetics*. But when he leaves this necessary but not altogether congenial task and enters upon that which is really the most original and valuable portion of the work, his thought is most stimulating and fresh. Especially do we commend his emphasis of the social side of the spirit of Jesus. It is growing everyday more apparent that it is no longer possible to consider man as an isolated, unsocial being. The work of President Hyde has already attempted to restate current theology after making the necessary corrections in this particular, but this work of Dr. Coyle must be regarded as an even more successful attempt. It is quite possible that his expectations are by no means too sanguine and that "the whole catalogue of great dogmas which have played their part in religious history will be revived, restated and vindicated as having originally been dictated by the social spirit." It would, indeed, be possible to raise questions in regard to certain statements in the book. One wonders whether Jesus really did expect the end of the world to come during his own lifetime (p. 143), and it is a little difficult to agree in the author's characterization of the reign of Charlemagne (p. 211), and it might also be said that the treatment at times is so very general as to become hardly more than a series of truisms. But on the whole one must say that the book is one of power, marked by broad reading and evident originality in thought, and is bound to be of great service to thinking men. The author has grappled with modern questions and has discovered an answer by the use of modern methods. It is inexpressibly sad to know that a book so full of promise and power is posthumous.

S. M.

The Ethics of the Old Testament. By the REV. W. S. BRUCE, M.A. New York: Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895. Pp. 292. \$1.75.

That we need a book on the ethics of the Old Testament does not require proof; that this book is needed, however, is another question. It starts off promisingly. The writer proposes to treat the ethics of the Old Testament in the light of two principles: (1) the progressive education of Israel; (2) the character of that early dispensation. But the promise is not fulfilled. There is absolutely no real historical discussion of Old Testament ethics in this volume. The writer says that what the critics have discovered about the age and order of the Old Testament writings does not concern his discussion. To us, on the other hand, it seems that these conclusions are vital, and the writer's failure to consider them has been fatal to the usefulness of the whole discussion. We sympathize heartily with his opposition to the naturalism of such scholars as Kuenen and Stade. He has made out a most excellent argument against them. But it seems to us that he has put the apologetic purpose too much in the foreground to enable him to appreciate fairly the problems that are involved in his discussion. He is always seeking for a

chance to show that this or that element in the morality of the Old Testament must be supernaturally revealed, whereas, he would have been far more effective, if he had allowed the facts to speak for themselves and had summed up the inevitable inferences at the close of his volume. As it is, this apologetic purpose has made him altogether too sweeping in his depreciation of non-Jewish ethics and of the progress of extra-Israelitish peoples in developing moral principles. Perhaps the most satisfactory point about the book is a detailed treatment of the Decalogue. But we shall still have to wait for what the author had a splendid opportunity to give, viz., a scientific treatment of the development of moral principles among the Hebrews, based upon a critical arrangement and study of Old Testament documents.

G. S. G.

Central Truths and Side Issues. By the REV. R. G. BALFOUR. New York : Imported by Charles Scribner's Sons. 1895. \$1.40.

Mr. Balfour is a theologian of the old school, but well-read and with open eye. He discusses such central subjects as the Incarnation and the Atonement, and such side issues as Baptism, the Covenant at Sinai, and Resurrection of the body. We admire the frankness and candor of the treatment. His discussion of the theories of the atonement is summed up in this sentence: "All that we claim is that the doctrine of substitution shall have the first and fundamental place, and then all the others will group themselves naturally around it." The weakest discussion is that on the Covenant of Sinai, in which he shows clearly that he is still struggling in the gulf and mire of the theories about the "covenants." He regards God as carrying on a great experiment with the two great divisions of the human race. "The Gentiles were left to the light of nature, suffered to walk in their own ways, in order to test the question: 'Can man, in the exercise of his own unaided reason and conscience, find out God and raise himself to a higher and better life?'" The result of the experiment was a negative answer. The Jews, the chosen people of God, to whom he had by direct revelation made known his character and will, were put under a covenant of law with a view of testing this further question: 'Can man, even when placed in the most favorable circumstances, win eternal life by any doings of his own?' And the answer to that question furnished by the history of Israel was an emphatic negative." We have passed the era in which God was looked upon as the Great Experimenter.

G. S. G.

The Parables by the Lake. By W. H. THOMSON, M.D., LL.D. New York : Harper & Brothers. 1895. Pp. 159.

Among the many books upon parables, this modest little volume has a merit peculiar to itself. It is written by a physician, who, as the son of Rev. William M. Thomson, D.D., author of *The Land and the Book*, was born and lived for many years in Palestine. Sometimes, it is true, the author is led off

into an historical discussion of the exegesis or some other phase of his subject, and at times he introduces illustrations from the realm of psychology and medicine, but the chief purpose of the book is to let the land interpret the parables of Jesus. Taken altogether, therefore, the work is unique. It cannot, of course, replace such works as those of Trench and Bruce, but it is a most valuable supplement for those works, and one is continually surprised and interested by the amount of fresh material of all sorts which is here brought together as a background against which the parables are thrown, and by means of which one is enabled better to interpret them. S. M.

LITERARY NOTES.

REV. DAVID GREGG, D.D., has gathered into the little volume *The Testimony of the Land to the Book*, three entertaining and earnest addresses delivered at the New England Chautauqua. They are full of facts, and although the author may be a little too eager in some of his conclusions, we heartily agree with him in his confidence in the influence of exploration and excavation upon belief in the Scriptures. The volume has considerable value as a book to put into the hands of those who are desirous of knowing the main facts in regard to Palestine and recent discoveries there. (New York: E. B. Treat. 35c.).

THE OXFORD PRESS (New York: Macmillan, \$7.00. Chicago: A. C. McClurg & Co.) has just issued the works of Bishop Butler, edited by W. E. Gladstone, in two noble volumes. The work of the editor has consisted in breaking the *Analogy*, and most of the other works into well marked sections, in the addition of an index to each volume, as well as explanatory notes, and an appendix containing works by Butler or associated with his name. Each of these features will aid greatly in the study of Butler's works. Mr. Gladstone promises in his preface that he will immediately issue a volume of essays in which he will give the reasons for this attempt to make the works of Butler more accessible to students.

We have read *How to Study the Bible for Greatest Profit*, by R. A. Torrey, Superintendent of the Chicago Bible Institute (Chicago, Fleming H. Revell Co. 75c.) with interest. Especially would we commend Part I., "The Method of the Most Profitable Bible Study," as a good accommodation of scientific method to popular work. In fact the entire book is full of good suggestions. It is gratifying to find so many warnings against forced and fanciful interpretations, but one fears that these may be somewhat weakened by the advice (p. 118) "In all your Bible study look for Christ in the passage under examination." The same spirit is seen in the chapter on the "Study of Types." But the book is to be commended, especially to students in theological schools, and to others who may be in danger of studying the Bible in an undevotional frame of mind.

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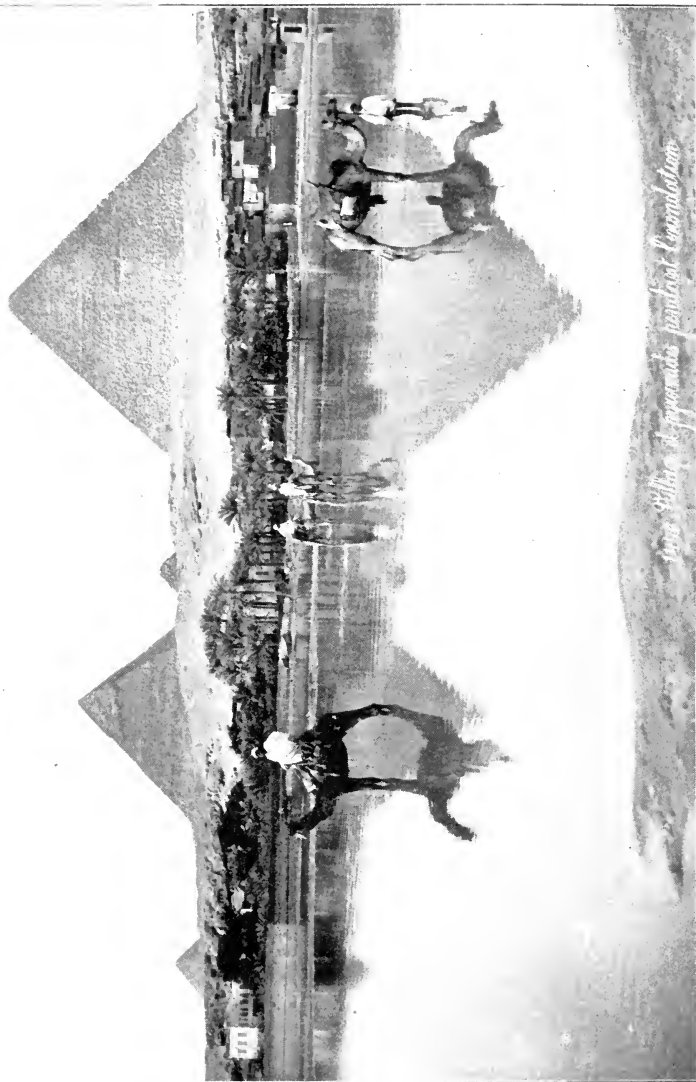
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THE PYRAMIDS OF GIZEH AND THE VILLAGE OF KAFRA DURING THE INUNDATION

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From a photograph by Bouffis

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

CONTINUING

The Old and New Testament Student

VOLUME VII.

JUNE, 1896

NUMBER 6

EARLY PALESTINE.

By the REVEREND WILLIAM HAYES WARD, D.D., LL.D.
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Evidence uncertain and indirect.—Babylonian influences predominant in earliest Palestine.—The primitive Semitic empire of Haran—Its conquest of non-Semitic Palestine.—Egyptian influence follows.—A Hittite invasion.—Light from the Amarna tablets.—The Exodus.

THE natural features of Palestine are fixed by ancient geological causes, and unlike those of Egypt and Assyria have not been much affected by alluvial deposition. The erosion of the mountain streams or of the little Jordan River is not a consideration important enough to be observed, except in minute topographical researches. The hills and highlands and valleys, and especially the great depression of the Jordan valley are substantially what they have been ever since the settlement of the earliest tribes. What we have to consider is, the people of Palestine in that period which a little while ago we should have called prehistoric; their power, their government, and their civilization.

Of course the evidence on which we must depend is in large part imperfect and the conclusions uncertain. On the surface of the soil we find here and there rude dolmens, such as are found all the way from India to Britain, and which are the memorials

we are not certain of how many races. They tell us little more than that Palestine had part in the same early barbarism that covered all Southern Europe and Western Asia.

Somewhat more instructive ought to be the contents of the mounds which mark the site of the ancient cities of Palestine; but it is very remarkable that very little investigation has yet been made of these old tels, not enough yet at Tel el-Hesi, said to be the ancient Lachish, or at Jericho, to do more than open the subject in a hopeful way. We know from the nature of the pottery and especially from the lucky discovery of an inscribed tablet, that these mounds go back to an antiquity nearly fifteen hundred years before Christ; but how much further we do not yet know. The field for exploration is a considerable one, and of the greatest interest; and our conclusions, except as we may be so fortunate as to obtain other written records, will have to be reached chiefly by comparison with the pottery and other remains of early Phœnician and "Mycenian" periods.

In the absence, with the exception of the one el-Hesi tablet, of literary monuments found on the ground, we are dependent for historical information on the records of Egypt and Babylonia, and the Old Testament. Inasmuch as the date of the Pentateuch, Joshua, and Judges is in question, with the consensus of scholars tending to a period some centuries later than the events they describe, however trustworthy these books and the documents on which they are based may be, it is not our present duty to repeat their familiar data, but rather to gather the information directly given by, or inferred from, the Egyptian and Babylonian monumental records.

So far as we know, Egypt, near as it was, had no relations with Palestine before the time of the XVIIIth dynasty, when, about 1550 B.C., Thothmes I led an army through Palestine and Syria on his way to Mesopotamia. Up to this time, so far as we know, the suzerainty of Palestine, with that of the whole Phœnician coast, had been in Babylon. In the earliest period we cannot distinguish Canaan from the rest of Syrian country. It is probable that from the beginning of the predominant power which had begun, in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, to develop



THE JORDAN

a civilization superior to any other, the necessities of trade had established Babylonian control as far as Cyprus, the seat of the copper mines. At any rate a seal found in Cyprus, bearing the name of Naram-Sin, a Babylonian king of nearly 3800 B.C., with other seals of a like antiquity and character, seems to indicate that Babylon ruled Cyprus at the very beginning of history. But Naram-Sin's father, Sargon I, led an army clear to the Mediterranean Sea; and the dominion of Babylonia over the Phœnician coast, Syria, and the Lebanon, seems to have begun at this time nearly 4000 years before Christ, and to have continued, with the capital of the empire removed now to Nineveh and now to Susa, down to the time of the Empire of Alexander, if we may except the comparatively brief periods when Egypt was in the ascendancy. The leading king of Babylonia repeated the expedition of Sargon I to the Mediterranean. Gudea, not far from 3000 B.C., bought timber for his temple from Lebanon; and we are especially interested to learn that he called the country *Amurru*, formerly read *Aharu*. This is also an Egyptian name of Syria, or the Lebanon, and is probably identical with the name *Amorites* of the Bible. From the location of Amurru west of Babylonia the word *amurru* came to mean *west*. The Amorites probably occupied this mountain region at this early period, and spread we know not how far over the neighboring highlands of Palestine. Nearly 1000 years later, or more, in the time of Abraham, the great Hammurabi, about 2250 B.C., in an inscription as yet unpublished, mentioned by Jensen, is spoken of as "king of Martu," which is the same as Amurru, or the western Syrian coast. This Hammurabi was probably the Amraphel, king of Shinar, who was associated with Chedorlaomer, king of Elam, Arioch, king of Ellasar, and Tidal, king of Nations (a misreading) in the attempt to quell a rebellion in the lower Jordan valley, as told in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis. The names of all these four kings have now been found on Babylonian monuments, two of them, Chedorlaomer and Tidal, within the last year.

The second part, just issued, of Professor H. V. Hilprecht's volume on the explorations of the University of Pennsylvania at

Niffer, opens a far earlier vista into the history of the East. The inscriptions published by him which antedate the time of the Babylonian Sargon, carry us back, in his view, to a period from 4000 to 5000 B.C. What is important for our subject is the probability that the early Sumerian population of Southern Babylonia was conquered during that chiliad by a Semitic invasion from the North, which had its seat, as Hilprecht believes, at Harran, the stopping-place of Abraham on



MUD BRICK PYRAMID OF USERTESEN III AT DASHUR

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From a photograph by Brugsch

his way from Ur to Palestine. But if a dynasty at Harran could conquer Babylonia, it could just as easily have gone the other way and conquered the Lebanon, Syria, and Palestine—so strong a power could have done nothing else; and this would explain how Sargon I, 3800 B.C., inheriting the power and authority of the northern conqueror, would naturally have claimed and maintained his suzerainty of the Mediterranean coast and Cyprus. We may then probably consider that the Semitic conquest of Palestine began more than 4000 years B.C. and was

continued in the long rule and religious and literary influence of Babylonia.

Such records as these explain how it is that the Babylonian system of writing, and the Babylonian government prevailed, with interruption in Palestine for many centuries before the rise of the mighty XVIIIth dynasty of Egypt. Even the invasions of Thothmes and Rameses, and the establishment of Egyptian garrisons did not succeed in destroying the prevalent Babylonian civilization. The language was Semitic, fitted to the Semitic cuneiform writing, and not adjusted to the hieroglyphs of Egypt. Similarly the religion and the culture were those of the Euphrates and not the Nile. Practically one language was spoken in Palestine, Syria, Naharina, Assyria, and Babylonia. Egypt could not assimilate the country with her garrisons or her hieroglyphics. We do not know how long Canaan had been Semitic in language and probably in race. If Genesis 10 calls Canaan the brother of Mizraim or Egypt, that rather means that at the time when the table was composed the memory was of the Egyptian rule over Palestine during the XVIIIth or XIXth dynasties. We know from the Amarna tablets that the language of Palestine just before the Israelite occupation was Semitic, although we do not know whether the more ancient tribes mentioned in the Pentateuch, Horites, Zuzim, Zamzummim, Rephaim, etc., and perhaps Amorites, may not have been Mongolians. The Philistines who entered Palestine not far from the same time as the Israelites, were probably not Semites—perhaps of a race allied to the early Greek races.

Thus we may look upon the earliest inhabitants of Palestine as of a non-Semitic stock, doubtless shepherds, who were subdued by a Semitic type represented by the Canaanites, but probably not the more northern Amorites of the mountains. Among these Canaanite Semites came the Semites of Babylonia, with their higher civilization, their organized armies, and their system of writing. They established military and trading posts and gave the people religion and civilization. Cities sprang up with their trade, and even their literature, for we know that one city was called Kirjath-Sepher, or more correctly, Kirjath-Sopher,

City of the Scribe, if we may correct the vowel from the Septuagint, and from what seems to have been its Egyptian name, Beit-sopher, House of the Scribe.

From the time of Thothmes I till the end of the XIXth dynasty, the Babylonian civilization of Palestine was modified and enriched by that of Egypt. It would appear that it was the



THE PYRAMID OF ZOSER (THIRD DYNASTY) AT SAKKARA

The oldest identified pyramid in Egypt (see page 441)

From a photograph by Bonfils

expulsion of the hated Hyksos which encouraged Thothmes and his successors to the revenge of invading Asia. The Hyksos probably were Mongolians; very likely, as Billerbeck supposes, the furthest wave of that great Mongolian flood which gave to Babylonia the Elamite dynasty to which Chedorlaomer belonged. But by the time Thothmes entered Palestine, the Elamites, by whatever name they were there called, Rephaim, Zuzim, but hardly Amorite, were pretty much absorbed and assim-

lated with the great body of Semite Canaanites. The Egyptian conquests reached to the Euphrates, and its results are seen in the mythologic art of Assyrians, Hittites, Syrians, and Phœnicians, as well as in Palestine. The Egyptians called Palestine Haru, and the people of the region generally Rutennu. The names of many places are found in Egyptian records of the campaigns, the identification of which is not always easy; but among them may be mentioned Carmel, Megiddo, Taanach, Joppa, Aphek, Gezer, Edrei, and Ashtaroth (Karnaim). But the most extraordinary names, which have excited much discussion, are, as they are probably to be transliterated, Jacob-el and Joseph-el. It is likely that the names Jacob and Joseph originally had the name of some deity attached, such as El or Yahve, but these are names of cities, not of patriarchs.

It was about 1400 B.C., as we learn by comparing the monuments of Thothmes IV, grandson of the great conqueror Thothmes III, with the letters sent from Palestine and Phœnicia to Amenophis III, that the Hittites, probably representing another Mongolian movement, invaded Palestine. But this was the farthest extent of their advance, and they soon retreated, although their memory survived, with some colonies, perhaps, to give their names to soldiers of David and perhaps in the wife of Uriah, to supply a Hittite ancestress to our Lord, as Ruth had supplied a Moabite ancestress. The Hittites of the time of Abraham are not so easily explained.

These Amarna tablets, with their letters from Palestinian and Phœnician governors of fortified ports to Amenophis III shed a marvelous light on the condition of things in Palestine just previous to the Exodus of the Israelites from Egypt. Not only are numerous towns mentioned, including Jerusalem with its king, but what is most important is the fact that we have it proved by these letters that the cuneiform writing of Babylon was the current medium of intercourse, and not the Egyptian, so complete had been the assimilation of the people to their rulers for more than 2000 years. It is clear that Palestine was no rude land, but a land of culture and literature and history, all going back to Babylonia, and therefore looking to the lower Euphrates

for its Eden. These letters are not yet fully investigated, but it does not seem possible that the Habiri mentioned can be Hebrews, as some have asserted, nor is it probable that the Yaudu are allied to Judah. This was a century or more before

the Exodus, although it is not impossible that when Jacob went into Egypt, according to Genesis, others of his tribe were left behind.

A discovery of great importance for our subject has just been announced, that of the mention of the Israelites in an inscription of Merenptah. As I write, Professor Petrie's brief account of his discovery and discussion of its bearing in *The Contemporary Review* for May is just at hand, and all that can now be said is that about 1200 B.C., Merenptah found Is-



THE PYRAMID OF UNAS (FIFTH DYNASTY)

From the North, showing descending passage and loose construction of core masonry

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From a photograph by Brugsch

raelites in Palestine, and claims what is likely enough, a victory over them. This is the first mention of the Israelites found in the Egyptian monuments, for it is far from probable that the Hebrews are meant by the earlier mention of a servile tribe called Aperiu. This discovery throws more darkness than light on the date of the exodus, and raises the new question whether a branch of the Israelite people did not remain in Palestine during the oppres-

sion. A second inscription of Merenptah, mentioning the Israelites, is announced by Dr. Spiegelberg, but probably adds nothing new.

The exodus, it would seem, must have taken place somewhere about 1200 B.C., a period of Egyptian decline. After Merenptah we have no account of serious Egyptian invasions until the times of the Jewish kings. No more do we have any account of Babylonian invasions. At this time the Assyrian power was rising, and the power of the Mitanni and of Naharina was strong, whose records are not yet discovered. We are now shut up for information to the Old Testament, whose account of the rise and power of the Philistines in Palestine, and of the conquest of Cushan-rishathaim, king of Mesopotamia (Naharina), and of the disturbed state of Palestine during the time of the Judges is too familiar to need comment.

EARLY CITIES OF PALESTINE.

By the REV. PROFESSOR EDWARD LEWIS CURTIS, PH.D., D.D.
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Independent municipalities the characteristic form of early Palestinian political life.— Their origin pre-historic.— Light from their names.— Divided into groups and discussed: (1) The seacoast; (2) Southern highlands; (3) Esdraelon; (4) Northern highlands; (5) East of the Jordan.— Their size, appearance, and government.

INDEPENDENT municipalities are one of the most striking features of the ancient civilization of western Palestine. When the children of Israel crossed the river Jordan they were not obliged to contend with a people organized under a single government, but only with the inhabitants of separate cities or groups of cities loosely confederated together. This fact is clearly presented in the Book of Joshua where thirty-one kings of as many separate cities are represented as having been smitten by Israel.¹ Not less clearly does it also appear in the Book of Judges (where the account of the conquest is somewhat different) in the some twenty cities which are mentioned as still remaining in the possession of the Canaanites.² These cities would not probably have thus continued their apparent independent existence had not such a condition existed before. Such a political system was undoubtedly a constant source of weakness and explains how Canaan during the previous centuries had been so easily annexed to Egypt, and how it was possible for Israel to conquer the Canaanites who were so much their superiors in material civilization.

The origin of these cities of Palestine is lost in the obscurity of prehistoric times. Many of them were already ancient when Israel entered Canaan. Mention of them is made in the lists of places conquered by Thothmes III (1480-1427 B.C.), by Ramses

¹ Josh. 12: 7-24.

² Judg. 1: 27-36.

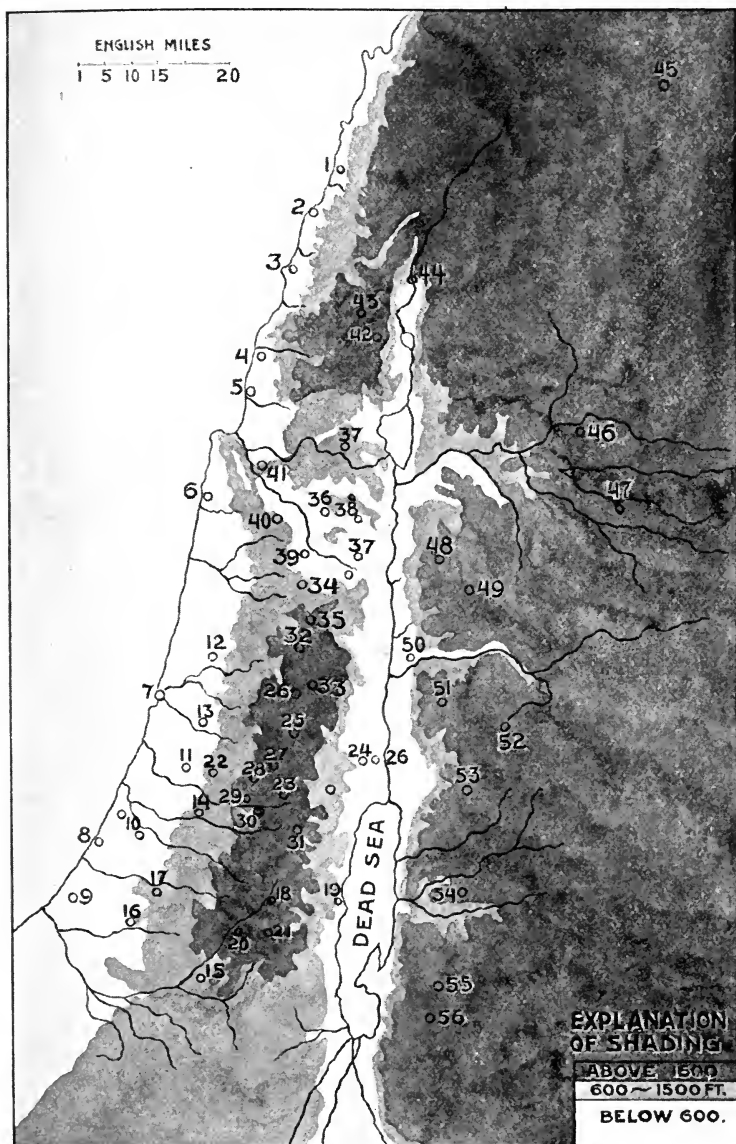
II (1280-1221), Ramses III (1180-1148) and in the Tel-el Amarna tablets of the reign of Khuenaten (1376-1364) and in the papyrus Anastasi I, containing a description of a journey to Palestine in the time of Ramses II.¹ While there is an uncertainty about the identification of some places mentioned in these writings, many of them are beyond dispute, and the interesting fact is revealed that the Hebrews did not change, except in rare instances, the names of the cities of Palestine.² New cities also were not founded by the children of Israel. This fact is confirmed by the Old Testament testimony of their living in cities which they did not build (Deut. 6:10; Josh. 24:13). Even at the time of the kings, when mention is made of building different cities (*cf.* 1 Kings 12:25; 15:17, 21), reference is to the rebuilding or enlarging and fortifying of old cities rather than to the founding of new ones. An exception, however, must be made in the case of Samaria which was really a new city (1 Kings 16:24). In the Greek and Roman periods it was very different. Then both the names of cities were changed and many new ones were founded.³

The names of the early cities of Palestine present all the peculiarities of origin which are seen in those of other countries. The situation often gave the name. We hear of those by a spring or fountain, En-gannim (fountain of gardens), En-gedi (fountain of the kid), En-eglaim (spring of two calves or two pools); of

¹ The list of Thothmes III is given in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 392 f. (1881), *Records of the Past* (New Series), Vol. V, pp. 25-53 (1892), and in Conder's *Tel Amarna Tablets*, pp. 195-208 (1893); the lists of Ramses II and III, in *Records of the Past* (New Series), Vol. VI, pp. 19-45 (1893). The Papyrus Anast. I is translated in the *Records of the Past*, Vol. II, p. 107 ff., and in Brugsch's *History*, Vol. II, pp. 109-114 (1881). These lists are discussed with great acuteness in W. Max Müller's *Asien und Europa nach Altägyptischen Denkmälern* (1893). Results are also given in Sayce's *Patriarchal Palestine* (1895). Moore's *Commentary on Judges* (1895) is very complete on questions of the identification of places mentioned in Judges.

² An example of such a change is Laish becoming Dan (Judg. 18:29). Whether Kirjath-arba became Hebron (Judg. 1:10), and Hazazon-tamar, En-gedi (2 Chron. 20:2), and Kirjath-sepher, Debir (Judg. 1:11) through Hebrew influence is difficult to determine, although generally assumed.

³ For example, Beth-shean became Scythopolis; Rabbath Ammon, Philadelphia; Lydda, Diaspolis; Samaria, Sebaste, etc. Among the new ones founded were Apollonia, Cæsarea, Tiberias, Pella, etc.



- | | | | |
|------------|---------------|-------------------|----------------------|
| 1 Sidon | 15 Beer-sheba | 29 Zorah | 43 Beth Anath |
| 2 Sarepta | 16 Sharuhem | 30 Kirjath-jearim | 44 Dan |
| 3 Tyre | 17 Iachish | 31 Beth-lehem | 45 Damascus |
| 4 Achzib | 18 Hebron | 32 Shechem | 46 Ashteroth-karnaim |
| 5 Accho | 19 En-gedi | 33 Shiloh | 47 Edrei |
| 6 Dor | 20 Debir | 34 Dothan | 48 Jabesh Gilead ? |
| 7 Joppa | 21 Carmel | 35 Thebez | 49 Mahanaim |
| 8 Ashkelon | 22 Gezer | 36 Shunem | 50 Succoth |
| 9 Gaza | 23 Jerusalem | 37 Beth-shean | 51 Penuel ? |
| 10 Ashdod | 24 Jericho | 38 Ibleam | 52 Rabbath of Ammon |
| 11 Ekron | 25 Beth-el | 39 Taanach | 54 Dibon |
| 12 Gilgal | 26 Gilgal | 40 Megiddo | 55 Rabbath Moab ? |
| 13 Lod | 27 Gibeon | 41 Harosheth | 56 Kir of Moab |
| 14 Gath ? | 28 Aijalon | 42 Hazor | |

those on a height, Mizpah (outlook), Ramah (high place), Geba and Gibea (hill); of those associated with fruits, Beth Tappuah (house of apple(s)), En-Rimmon (pomegranate fountain); of those arising from a tower of some sort, Migdol-El (tower of God), Migdol-Gad (tower of fortune), Migdol-Eder (tower of the flock); those founded or seized by a clan, Dan (Judg. 18:29), Shimron (Josh. 19:15; *cf.* Num. 26:24). But perhaps of special interest are the names which indicate that the places were sites of religious (pagan) worship, Beth-Dagon (house of Dagon, the fish-god), Beth-Shemesh (house of the sun), and all names compounded with Baal (lord), such as Baal-Gad (lord of fortune) Baal-Hermon (lord of Hermon—the sanctuary), etc.¹ Cities of the same name were also frequent.²

The cities of Palestine may be divided into several groups determined by the physical features of the country. (1) Those of the seacoast and the adjoining plains of Sharon and Philistia, extending back into the foothills or Shephelah. (2) Those of the highlands of Judah, Benjamin and Ephraim northward to the plain of Esdraelon. (3) Those of Esdraelon. (4) The inland cities north of Esdraelon, west of the Jordan and south of the river Leontes. (5) Cities east of the Jordan.³

(1) Commencing on the north we have the seaport towns of Phenicia, *i. e.*, Sidon, Sarepta, Tyre, Achzib, and Accho which never, however, came into possession of Israel (Judg. 1:31), unless possibly the last two become tributary to David and Solomon. These cities are all mentioned in our Egyptian sources, and already, long before Israel entered Canaan, Tyre, and Sidon had commenced their career of mercantile enterprise and prosperity. South of Carmel there are two ancient seaport towns before we reach Philistia, Dor, and Joppa. Both of these are among the cities conquered by Thothmes III. The former seems never to

¹ For a list of such towns see Conder's *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 33 f. (1886).

² These in the Old Testament were distinguished by affixing the name of the tribe, *viz.*, Beth-lehem-Judah (Judg. 19:1), to distinguish from Beth-lehem of Zebulon (Josh. 19:15; Judg. 12:8, 10).

³ In locating cities I have used the general map of Palestine according to the Palestine Exploration Survey, which accompanies Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land* (1894).

have passed entirely into the control of Israel, only its upper portion Naphath-dor, which was under the jurisdiction of one of Solomon's stewards, who was also the king's son-in-law (1 Kings 4:11, R. V.). Joppa was Israel's single seaport on the Mediterranean. So little, however, did the Israelites have to do with the sea, that except as a city of Dan (Josh. 19:46) and as the landing place of Solomon's timber rafts (2 Chron. 2:16) and in the story of Jonah (Jon. 1:3) its name does not occur in connection with the preëxilic history of Israel. South of Joppa on the seacoast is the Philistine city of Ashkelon, with which are to be associated the other Philistine cities, Gaza, Ashdod, Ekron and Gath, back three (Gaza) to nine miles (Ekron) from the sea. (The site of Gath has not been decisively identified and it may be further inland.)¹

Gaza, the most southerly of these cities was one of the keys of Egypt and from thence, as already belonging to Egypt, Thothmes III started on his conquest of Palestine. From Ashkelon were written some of the Amarna tablets, and it very early must have been, as it was later, a city of large importance. During the reign of Ramses II it revolted from Egypt, and its capture by his soldiers was regarded as an exploit worthy of being remembered by a representation on the walls of the temple of Karnak. It, however, was more a place of trade than a fortress, as is suggested by its "streets" or bazaars (2 Sam 1:20).² Ashdod does not appear in the Egyptian lists, but its military strength is shown by its later history when it endured prolonged sieges (*cf.* Isa. 20:1). Ekron is in the list of Thothmes III.³ North of Philistia is the plain of Sharon. This land associated in imagination from the Rose of Sharon with its fertility and loveliness,⁴ is the seat of no inland city mentioned in the preëxilic

¹ See for discussion of site, Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*, p. 199 ff.

² Smith's *Hist. Geog.*, p. 191.

³ See Tomkins in *Records of the Past* (New Series), Vol. V, but Müller thinks cities of south Palestine are not mentioned because already belonging to Egypt. *Asien und Europa*, p. 161.

⁴ The plain does not seem really, however, to be especially attractive or fertile. See Thomson's *Land and Book*, Vol. I, chap. 3, 1886.

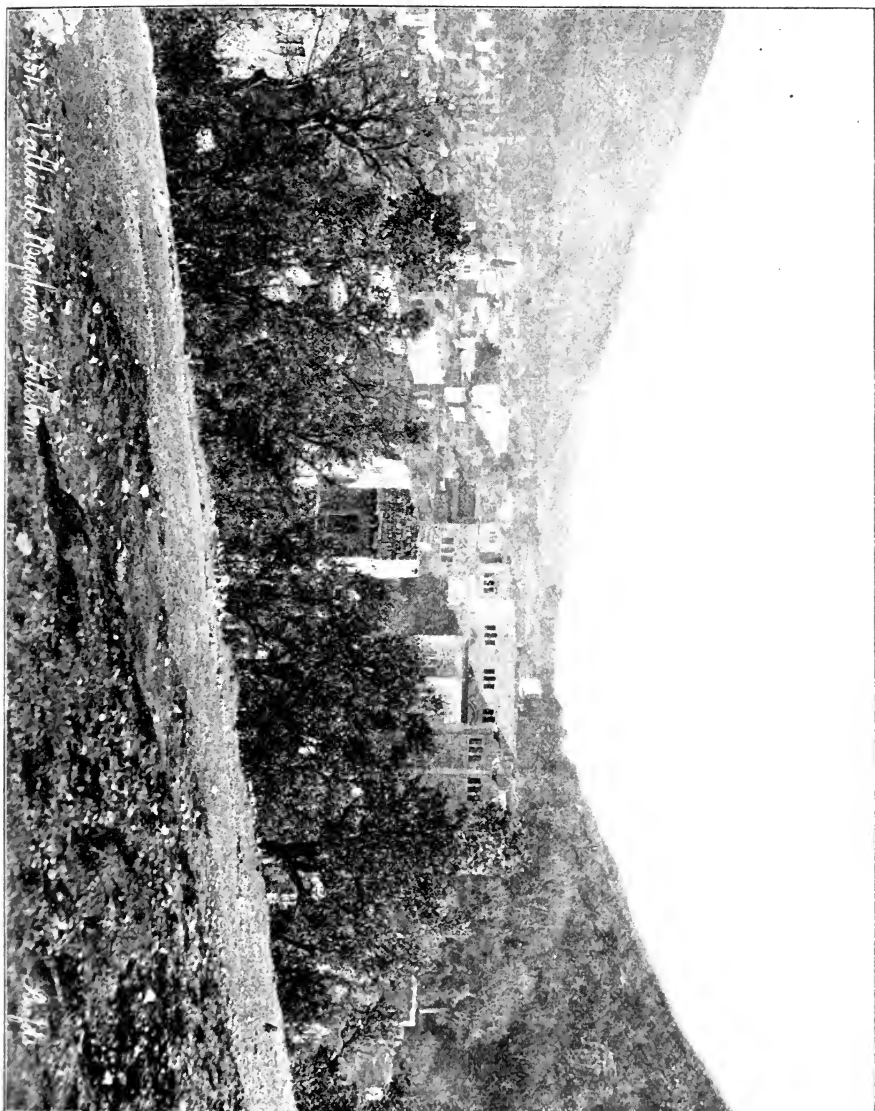
literature of Israel with the exception of the obscure Gilgal of Joshua 12:23. Ono and Lod (Lydda), east and southeast of Joppa, are mentioned in 1 Chron. 8:12 as towns of Benjamin and with them Hadid in Ezra 2:33 and since these three names are in the list of Thothmes III they must have been ancient places.¹ South of Lod is Gezer, a far more important town than those just mentioned (Josh. 10:33; 12:12), which remained a Canaanite city (Josh. 16:10; Judg. 1:29) until the time of Solomon, when Pharaoh seized it and gave it as a present to his daughter, Solomon's wife (1 Kings 9:16). Gezer appears also in the list of Thothmes III, as perhaps the most southern of the conquered places, Philistia being already a dependency of Egypt.² The importance of Gezer is also seen from its mention in the Amarna tablets as the residence of an Egyptian viceroy.³ At the southwest extremity of the land of Israel is Beersheba, prominent in the story of Abraham and Isaac, and revered and visited by the people even of the north kingdom as a sanctuary (Am. 5:5). This appears in no ancient Egyptian list of places, probably because it was "neither a gateway nor a fortress, but only a cluster of wells." Northeast of Beersheba is Sharuhén, recorded among the cities of Simeon (Josh. 19:6) and nowhere else in the Old Testament. This is of interest because it appears in the annals of Thothmes III as a leading place of south Palestine, and yet, when the LXX translation was made, so completely seems the city to have been forgotten and disappeared, that the name was entirely misunderstood.⁴ Almost directly north of Sharuhén and east of Gaza on the east edge of the plain of Philistia is Lachish, famous in the annals of archæological exploration as having given the first cuneiform tablet exhumed in Palestine. This was an important fortress, and is mentioned in the Amarna tablets as the residence of an Egyptian viceroy. Later it is prominent in connection with the invasion of Sennacherib (2 Kings 18:14).

¹ Nos. 64, 65, and 76 in list. Lydda (?), Müller, p. 160.

² Müller, p. 160.

³ Sayce's *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 134.

⁴ Müller, pp. 158, 161. Brugsch's *Egypt*, Vol. I, p. 369.



154. Valley of the Nephros. Tschirn.

8. 11.

(2) Turning now to the hill or elevated mountainous country of south and central Palestine, the real home of the tribes of Israel west of the Jordan, the early cities included, may be grouped about three centers, in the south about Hebron, in the central portion about Jerusalem and in the northern portion about Shechem. Hebron, whose ancient name was Kirjath-arba, seems early to have been associated with Egypt since the city is said to have been built seven years before Zoan in Egypt (Num. 13:22). This would make it very ancient since Zoan dates at least back to the XIIth dynasty (2130-1930 B. C.). It does not appear in any Egyptian geographical lists earlier than the XIXth dynasty; perhaps because the rugged hill-country of south Palestine, unfit for the use of Egyptian chariots, may for a long period have been unsubdued. In the Amarna tablets mention is made of some confederates, *khabiri*, who were threatening the cities tributary to Egypt and since Hebron is from the same root (כחבר), it has been suggested that it may have been their rallying place.¹ Hebron's situation, as well as importance, made it David's natural capital when king over Judah. It stands in the center of the sixty-two cities assigned to that tribe (Josh. 15:20-62). South are the places associated with David's life as an outlaw, Ziph (1 Sam. 23:15), Jattir (1 Sam. 30:27), Eshtemoa (1 Sam. 30:28), Maon (1 Sam. 25:2), Carmel (1 Sam. 25:2) and to the east En-gedi (1 Sam. 23:29). Among other cities connected with David northeast is Tekoa (2 Sam. 14:2), and northwest Adullam (1 Sam. 20:1), and Keilah (1 Sam. 23:1-8). How old these places are we do not know. Keilah and Carmel are mentioned in the Amarna tablets, also Rabbah (Josh. 15:60) near Adullam. Southwest of Hebron is Debir. This, by its former name, Kirjath-sepher, city of book or scribe (which has given rise to the pleasing conjecture of an ancient cuneiform library there), is named in the papyrus of the Egyptian traveler (Anast. I).² Beth-anoth (Josh. 15:59) near and northeast of Hebron is given among the places conquered by Seti I.³ In south Judea also

¹ *Patriarchal Palestine*, pp. 146 ff.

² Müller, p. 174.

³ Brugsch, *Hist. Egypt*, Vol. II, p. 20.

were Geder, Hormah, and Arad of Joshua's thirty-one conquered kings (Josh. 12:14). Eglon, Libnah and Makkedah also of this list (Josh. 12:12, 15, 16), were in the borders of Philistia between Lachish and Ekron.

Jerusalem appears in the Amarna tablets as the residence of a native prince, a tributary ally and vassal of Egypt with quite



HEBRON

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From a photograph by Bonfils

a district under his care. This strong fortress held so long by the Jebusites (*i. e.*, until its capture by David) together with the Gibeonites dwelling to the westward, seems to have been a means of separating the tribes of Judah and Simeon from the others, and hence their names do not appear in the song of Deborah (Judg. 5.) East of Jerusalem in the Jordan valley are Jericho and Gilgal. On the north until Beth-el (the ancient Luz near which was also Ai, Josh. 7:2-5), are no important towns, although many places connected with Samuel and Saul. Here were Ramah and Mizpah, which with Beth-el and Gilgal belonged to

Samuel's circuit as judge (1 Sam. 7:16). To the north and west were also the cities of the Gibeonites, Beeroth, Gibeon and Chephirah (Josh. 9:17), and also Aijalon and Shaalbim near Gezer, which also retained their Amorite inhabitants (Judg. 1:35). To the west and southwest of Jerusalem in and around the valley of Sorek and extending into the Shephelah are the places connected with the story of Samson and the return of the ark from the Philistines. Timnath (Judg. 14:1), Zorah (Judg. 13:25), Eshtaol (Judg. 13:25), Beth-shemesh (1 Sam. 6:9), Kirjath-jearim (1 Sam. 7:1), and also Jarmuth (Josh. 10:3), and south of Jerusalem is Beth-lehem. Of these cities Aijalon and Zorah are mentioned in the Amarna tablets as being in allegiance with Egypt.¹

Shechem so prominent in the stories of the patriarchs (Gen. 12:6; 33:18; 34:5), is named in connection with the neighboring mountain (Ebal) in the papyrus of the Egyptian traveler.² This city, judging from the story of Abimelech (Judg. 9), seems to have retained a large Canaanitish element in its population. South of Shechem, near Gilgal, is Shiloh, so long the abode of the ark and the site of the early temple of Jehovah (1 Sam. 3:3, Jer. 7:12). North, Dothan on the edge of the plain, the residence of Elisha (Gen. 37:15; 2 Kings 6:13). Northeast, Thebez, where Abimelech was slain (Judg. 9:50). West by south, Ophrah, the city of Gideon (Judg. 6:11), and southwest, Timnath-serah, Joshua's burial place (Josh. 24:30). All of these places of so much interest in the history of Israel seem to have had little importance in themselves unless it is Dothan, which has been found by some in the list of Thothmes III (No. 9).³

(3) Beyond on the north of these highlands of Judah, Benjamin and Ephraim, is the plain of Esdraelon. This plain or valley, since in rainy weather the head-waters of the Kishon and the tributaries of Jordan sometimes unite,⁴ may be regarded as extending from the Mediterranean to the Jordan. Across this territory extended a line of towns, beginning on the east. Beth-

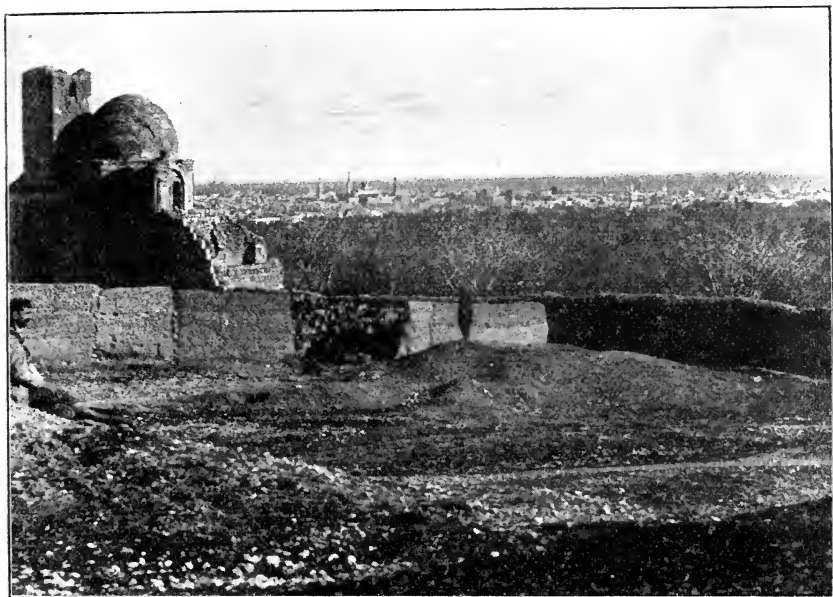
¹ *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 137.

² Müller, p. 394.

³ Tomkins in *Records of the Past*, Vol. V (New Series), p. 41. See also *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 227.

⁴ Thomson's *Land and Book* (1886), Vol. II, pp. 211 f.

shean, Ibleam, Taanach, Megiddo, and Harosheth, which remained for a long time independent of Israel (Judg. 1:27-42). Dor also is associated with them. Of these cities Beth-shean and Megiddo were especially important. The former commanded the entrance into central Palestine on the east, and the latter the highway from the south, the natural route from Egypt to Phœnicia, northern



DAMASCUS

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From a photograph by Bonfils

Syria and the Euphrates. Professor W. Max Müller calls Megiddo the most important town of Palestine, and from a military point of view this was certainly true. Its vicinity was the site of great and decisive battles. There Thothmes III won his great victory over the confederated kings of Palestine; there Deborah and Barak overthrew Sisera and his host; there Pharaoh-necho defeated Josiah. Megiddo naturally is frequently mentioned in the Egyptian annals, and both Taanach and Ibleam are in the list of Thothmes III,¹ and Shunem near by is in the papyrus of the Egyptian traveler.²

¹ Nos. 42 and 43.² *Patriarchal Palestine*, p. 229.

(4) North of the plain of Esdraelon, passing over the hills around Nazareth and near Mount Tabor and crossing the valley of Alam-melech the north branch of the Kishon one enters the high and mountainous land of the tribe of Naphtali, to whom belonged nineteen cities (Josh. 19:32-39). Of these perhaps the most important was Hazor, east of lake Merom, the residence of Jabin (Judg. 4:1), mentioned in the list of Thothmes III. The early significance of this place is seen in the fact that, as we learn from the Amarna tablets, during the reign of Khuenaten it retained its native king along with the Egyptian governor. Solomon fortified the city (1 Kgs. 9:15). Just north of Hazor is Kedesh-naphtali, from whence came Barak (Judg. 4:6). North-west of Hazor is Beth-anath (Judg. 1:33), mentioned in connection with the campaigns of Seti I and Ramses II.¹ At the head waters of the Jordan is Dan, whose former name was Laish (Judg. 18:7) by which it appears in the list of Thothmes III.²

(5) East, or rather far northeast of the Jordan, is Damascus, which from its situation must have been very ancient. This with Ashteroth-karnaim and Edrei are in the list of Thothmes III. But earlier than any Egyptian list probably is the source of Gen. 14:1-10. In this fragment, dating back possibly to 2000 B. C., Ashteroth-karnaim also appears, and elsewhere unrecorded city (?) Ham (probably in Ammon and Kirjathaim in Moab. The cities of the plain, Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah, Zeboiim, and Zoar were either at the north or south end of the Dead Sea. Authorities are about equally divided. The non-mention of the first four in any Egyptian record confirms negatively the period of their existence given in Genesis, and since recently the names of some of the invading kings have been found it is to be hoped that some record of the cities may be discovered and thus the date of their existence, and so far, of their overthrow fixed. In Israel's early history of cities east of the Jordan are mentioned Jabesh-gilead (1 Sam. 11:1), Mahanaim, Succoth, and Penuel (Judg. 8:5-8). Of these, Mahanaim was an important place, the capital of Ish-bosheth's kingdom (2

¹ Müller, p. 195, 220.

² So Tomkins and Sayce, but Müller (Laish), p. 192.

Sam. 2:9), and the refuge of David (2 Sam. 17:24). From the fragment of proverbs in Num. 21:27-30 we may give as early and leading cities of Ammon and Moab (adding also Rabbath Ammon), Heshbon, Ar (Rabbath), Dibon, and Medeba, northeast and east of the Dead Sea.

Of the size of these early cities of Palestine we know but little. By a city (עִיר) in the Old Testament is usually understood a walled town (Lev. 25:29 ff.), from which the village (חֲצִיר) was distinguished (Josh. 13:27).¹ "City," however, might designate a single citadel or watch-tower (2 Kgs. 17:9), and hence some of the places thus called may have been very small. Lachish is prominent in early Palestinian history, and yet the excavations of Mr. Bliss have shown that the city proper was little more than a great fortress, being only a quarter of a mile square, and yet with a wall 28 feet in thickness and over 21 feet in height (21 feet now remaining). Probably if an exception is made of Tyre and Sidon, Damascus, and possibly Gaza and Ashkelon, the population of the largest of these early cities would be about 20,000, while that of the smaller would range from 3000 to 10,000. Jerusalem in the pre-exile times had not over 50,000 or 60,000 inhabitants,² and no other Israelitish city except Samaria can be thought of as approaching this population, and before the centralization of the government at Jerusalem the population in spite of the city's early importance must have been far smaller. With each city there were usually a number of villages dependent upon them for protection (Josh. 19:23). Many cities had a citadel or fortress, thus Jerusalem (2 Sam. 5:7), Shechem (Judg. 9:46), Thebez (Judg. 9:57). Generally the cities had only one gate (Gen. 34:30) which was closed at evening (Josh. 2:5), being provided with stout wooden doors (Judg. 16:3) and brass or iron bars (1 Kgs. 4:13). At the gate of the city within the wall was an open place, both the market and court of the town, where all kinds of business was transacted.

¹ עִיר in some cases is used of an unwall'd town (Deut. 3:5). Succoth is mentioned among the cities of the tribe of Gad (Josh. 13:27), but because it offered no resistance to Gideon (Judg. 8:16), it has been thought to have been unwall'd (Moore *in loco*). This, if true, however, must be regarded exceptional.

² Benzinger's *Hebräische Archäologie*, pp. 55 f.

In general appearance these ancient cities must have resembled the older parts of present eastern cities. The streets were narrow and crooked and the houses built close together. The occupation of the inhabitants would, of course, be trade and the manufacture of simple articles for domestic and military use. Among one of the most interesting finds at Lachish was an iron smelting furnace of the period of 1400 B. C. The tribute which Thothmes III received from Palestine consisted of gold, silver, precious stones, bronze, lead, iron, dyes, oil, wine, balsam, honey, grain, timber and cattle.

Of the government of the cities we know little, but it was probably very simple. The control of all municipal matters and the decision of all questions respecting the rights and relations of citizens was in the hand of the elders or the heads of the leading families. These sat in the gate to give judgment. A certain limited number of them seems to have been sufficient to adjudicate ordinary cases (Boaz summoned ten, Ruth 4:2). The council as a whole was probably quite large. The little city of Succoth had seventy-seven elders or princes (Judg. 8:14). The king of a Canaanite city must have been little more than a chief elder or councilor. During the Hebrew monarchy the cities evidently managed their own affairs much as in the earlier period (Deut. 22:15 ff). The national government was satisfied with the contribution of gifts and tribute.¹

¹ McCurdy, *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*, p. 36.

SKETCH OF BABYLONIAN AND ASSYRIAN HISTORY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PALESTINE DOWN TO THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM.

By PROFESSOR DAVID GORDON LYON, PH.D.
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Earliest data as to Babylonia.—Sargon.—Elamite conquest.—Invasions of Palestine.—New data from recent discoveries.—Palestine and Babylonia in the Bible.—Later revelations.

Looking back over the course of Hebrew history, we can see that the breach created by the division of the kingdom, about 930 B. C., a breach never to be healed, was an event of the greatest consequence in relation to Israel's true mission in the world. It was a necessary step in Israel's progress to her position as the world's religious teacher. It threw a barrier across the path to political and material greatness, and designated Israel as a people destined to struggle and to suffer. Her victories were to be achieved, not by soldiers on fields of blood, but by prophet and by poet in the depths of their own souls.

Less than a century after the division, began those invasions from the east, which were to prove so disastrous from a political point of view. Two centuries after the rupture, and Assyria gave the death thrust to the northern kingdom. Another century and a half, and the southern kingdom was broken forever by Babylon. The history of Israel is thus so intimately associated with Assyria and Babylon that large parts of the Old Testament are unintelligible without a knowledge of these countries.

But this immeasurable Babylonian-Assyrian influence in Palestinian affairs was not something new. From very early times it existed, long before Palestine had become the Hebrew home. Recent discovery has brought to light much new information on this subject.

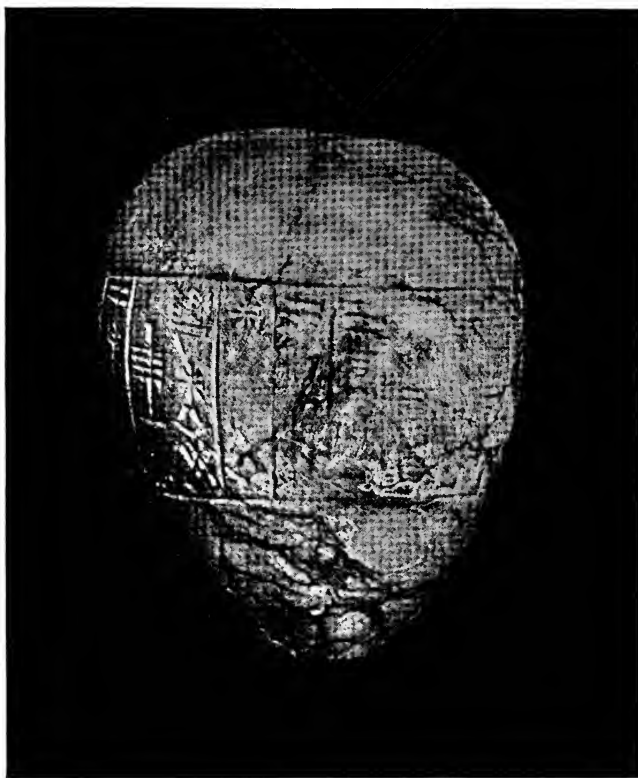
The earliest definite Babylonian date which we possess is that

of *Naram-Sin*, son of *Sargon*, whom *Nabonidus*, king of Babylon (555–538 B. C.) places 3200 years before his own time. This gives us about 3750 for *Naram-Sin*. Can we feel any confidence in a date so remote? Yes, for the following reasons: Babylonia was evidently one of the first countries to attain to civilization; many of the Babylonian remains bear the marks of great antiquity; astronomical observations were made in Babylonia from time immemorial, and the scholars who went to Babylon with Alexander the Great are reported to have sent home records of eclipses found there going back for 1900 years; the historical and chronological feeling of Babylonian kings and scholars was very strong, some of them, like Nebuchadrezzar and Nabonidus, being great antiquarians; from about 2400 B. C. we have lists of the kings of Babylon, grouped in dynasties, with the duration of the respective dynasties and individual reigns; the evident intention and effort to be accurate, as seen in the consistency of later chronological data, inspire confidence in regard to the earlier dates which we have not yet the means of testing.

The remains that have come from this *Sargon*, of such hoary antiquity, are various: a stone seal with inscription and remarkable carving; an egg-shaped marble object with inscription; inscribed door sockets in stone; brick stamps of terra cotta; the record of his birth, exposure in the river (like Moses in the basket), discovery, training and accession to the throne; and the so-called tablet of omens. The last two objects are from the library of Assurbanipal, copies of older Babylonian originals. According to the omen tablet, *Sargon* made victorious campaigns against the country *Martu*, the name in later times, and therefore, perhaps here also, for the Mediterranean coast-lands, including Palestine.¹ The names *Sargon* and *Naram-Sin* are Semitic, and we may assume that their kingdom, with its capital at Agade in northern Babylonia, was also Semitic. *Sargon's* domin-

¹ There seems to have been a city or district *Martu* in or near Babylonia also, as has been recently pointed out by Prof. Jensen (*Zeitschrift für Assyriologie*, x, 342, Feb. 1896). This cannot, however, be the *Martu* of *Sargon*, which is mentioned in connection with the sea of the setting sun (Mediterranean). One cannot dogmatize regarding the *Martu* of *Ammissatana* and the *Amurri* (= *Martu*) of *Nebuchadrezzar I* (see below), though the indications would seem to point rather to the western region.

ion extended from Elam on the east, which he subdued, to the Mediterranean, and as far south as *Nippur*, where some of his most interesting relics were found by the Philadelphia expedition, (*cf.* Hilprecht's *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, Part I, 1893). Both



MACE OF SARGON I ABOUT 3800 B. C.

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father and son were great builders as well as successful warriors, and culture in their day was so advanced that we must assume many hundreds of years of development. This assumption is confirmed by the diggings now going on at *Niffer*, which have brought to light objects from a depth far below the strata of *Sargon* and *Naram-Sin* remains (*cf.* articles by J. P. Peters in "American Journal of Archæology" for 1895).

We have not yet sufficient data for reconstructing even in dim outline the history before the time of Sargon.¹ Of the cities contemporary with him we know, besides his capital Agade, Babylon and Nippur, of which the last named, seat of the god Bel, is possibly the oldest. Further south were "Ur of the Chaldees," Erech, Larsa, and the city which is marked by the modern ruins known as *Telloh*. The French excavations at *Telloh* have enriched the Louvre with some of its greatest treasures; statues with long inscriptions; immense, jar-shaped, inscribed clay cylinders; records on stone tablets, bronze statuettes, and numerous other small objects (*cf.* E. de Sarzec's *Découvertes en Chaldée*). Both the epigraphy and the art indicate a remote antiquity for these objects, some of them it may be as ancient as the venerable Sargon. The greatest builder among those who ruled at *Telloh* was *Gudea*, and he too seems to have had relations with the western country.

The old cities which have been named were the seats of separate governments, of which several may have been contemporaneous. Of the rivalries between these we have clear indications in the meager records. Governments partaking more of a national character arose when some warrior king brought several of these cities under one scepter, or when the separate rulers combined for protection against a common foe. Thus matters stood, so far as our information reaches, for many centuries after the times of Sargon and the earlier *Telloh* rulers.

Not far from 2300 B. C. the Elamites, whose home was to the east of Babylonia, invaded the land and carried off from the city Erech a statue of the goddess Ishtar. In a campaign against Elam, Asshurbanipal (668-626 B. C.) recovered this object, 1635 years after its capture, and restored it to its shrine. Whether this Elamite incursion was only a raid, or whether the invader

¹Since this paragraph was written there has appeared the second part of Hilprecht's *Old Babylonian Inscriptions*, in "Transactions of Amer. Philos. Soc.," N. S. Vol. XVIII, No. 3, Phila., 1896. On the basis of new records from the diggings at *Nippur*, Hilprecht undertakes a "tentative" statement of some of the great events antedating *Sargon*. One of these, according to Hilprecht, is the establishment by *Lugalzaggisi*, not later than 4500 B. C., of a kingdom extending from the Mediterranean to the Persian Gulf, pp. 44, 53.

actually assumed control of the land, we cannot say definitely. But the latter alternative is true, if we are to assign to this date the political allusions in the great Babylonian poem, commonly known as the *Izdubar-Epic*. One of these describes the distress of



DOOR-SOCKET OF SARGON I

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From *Babylonian Expedition*, Univ. Pa.

Erech under the rule of an Elamite tyrant, who was afterwards slain by *Izdubar*. Of course, it is possible that the allusion here may be to some still more remote event.

However this may be, it is clear that the king who made Babylon supreme, not far from 2250 B. C., had also to deal with the Elamites. He prevailed over these and over all the native rivals of Babylon, and thus gained for this city and for her god *Marduk* (Merodach) a preëminence which they never lost. This

warrior king was the sixth in the first of the dynasties ruling at Babylon, a dynasty so prosperous that its eleven kings averaged about twenty-eight years to the reign. His name was *Hammurabi*. He enjoyed a reign of fifty-five years, the longest of any king in the dynasty. He was not only successful at arms, but was also a famous builder and a digger of canals. In the *Sunday School Times* for Oct. 12 and Nov. 2, 1895, Prof. Fritz Hommel has undertaken to prove that this dynasty was of Arabic origin. However this may be, they were in spirit, if we may judge by the writings of Hammurabi, thoroughly Babylonian.

If Ur of the Chaldees (Gen. 11:28), whence the ancestor of the Hebrews migrated, be the old Babylonian city *Uru*, represented by the modern ruins *Mugheir*, the migration probably took place during the dynasty to which Hammurabi belonged. Political changes at home and the prospect of bettering their fortunes in the West may have led Abram and Lot to turn their faces towards Canaan. Their route passed through the ancient commercial center, Haran. Recent discovery shows that Haran was in later centuries a seat of the Moon cult. If this was also the case at the time of the migration, we can see a special reason why the emigrants pitched their tents here; for the worship of the Moon was the special form of religion to which they had been accustomed at Ur. One of the most noteworthy of ancient hymns comes from the temple of the Moon-god at the city just named. But Abram is impelled still further to the West by a sublime faith in the future, and into the land of Canaan he comes (Gen. 12). He comes, we may suppose, not into a region that was utterly unknown. He may have heard much of it from traders or from soldiers returning from the campaigns. For there is great probability that the two invasions of Gen. 14 would be not exceptional, but the rule, if we only had fuller records of the times.

When did these invasions occur and who were the invaders? "In the days of Amraphel king of Shinar, Arioch king of Ellasar, Chedorlaomer king of Elam, and Tidal king of Goiim." The localities are all identified: Shinar with *Shumer*, a Babylonian region including Babylon itself; Elam with the mountain,

land east of Babylon; Goiim with the *Guti*, a nomadic people living on the Babylonian borders; and Ellasar is probably the city *Larsa*. As to the kings, Amraphel of Shinar or Babylon, to judge from the name, is one of the rulers of the first dynasty. Three of these have names beginning with *Am* or *Ham*, namely, *Hammurabi*, *Ammisatana*, and *Ammisaduga*. No ruler of the next dynasty of 368 years has a name beginning thus. If Amraphel be one of the three names just given, Hammurabi is the one which comes nearest. The two forms are not more unlike than *Asshur-banipal* and Osnappar (Ezra 4: 10) or than *Nabium-kuduri-uzur* and Nebuchadrezzar. While Chedorlaomer has not been certainly identified, the form of the name is clearly a compound of *Kudur* (like many other Elamite names, as *Kudur-mabuk*, *Kudûr-nan-khundî*) and the name of the Elamite god *Lagamaru*. Arioch of Ellasar seems to be Erim-Agu of Larsa, also of Elamite stock.*

With these identifications we may say that the invasions of Gen. 14 took place while Elam overshadowed Babylonia, and before Hammurabi felt strong enough to break the power of the foreigner. The account fits so well into our knowledge of the times that there seems to be no good ground to call the fact in question. If these conclusions are just, we may be sure that Hammurabi has left a record of the war, and this may come to light any day.

From Ammisatana, great-grandson of Hammurabi, we have the copy of an inscription in which this ruler, among other titles, calls himself "king of the land *Martu*" (*Records of the Past*, New Series V, 103.) We have already seen that *Martu* was the Mediterranean coastland. Whether Ammisatana employed this title by inheritance or by right of conquest, we cannot say, but we may reasonably hold that in his day, about 2150 B.C.,

*In January last Mr. T. G. Pinches read at the Victoria Institute an account of some mutilated cuneiform tablets belonging to the British Museum, on which he has found the names *Kudurlachgumal*, *Eri-ekua*, and *Tudchula* which he identifies with the Chedorlaomer, Arioch and Tidal of Gen. xiv. The first-named is called "king of Elam," as is Chedorlaomer. While there is no reference on these tablets to the invasion of Gen. xiv, the reading and identification of Mr. Pinches, if correct, are of very great interest.

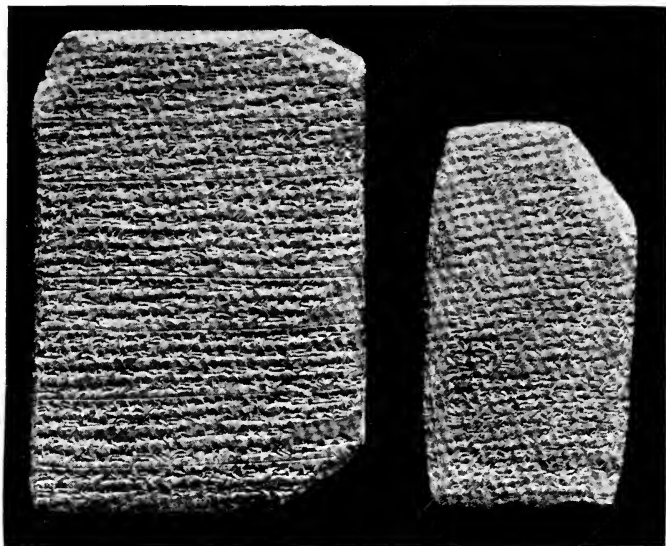
Babylonian politics and culture were supreme in Phœnicia and Palestine. Whether this remained so till the 15th century, B.C., is uncertain, but if not, there must have been still another occupation of the land after the time of Ammisatana. This is evident from the El-Amarna discovery, of which more below.

Of the second dynasty, with its eleven kings ruling for 368 years, the political history has not yet been recovered. The third dynasty, with thirty-six kings, began in the 18th century, B.C., and lasted 576 years. It was not of Semitic but of Cassite origin. As ruling class, the Cassites intermarried with the Babylonians and adopted the Babylonian language and culture. During the reign of this dynasty Assyria, a colony from Babylonia, comes into prominence and wages frequent wars with the mother country. The advantage is sometimes with one and sometimes with the other contestant, and we have a record of several settlements of boundary disputes (*cf. Records of the Past*, New Series, IV, 27). The excavations by the Philadelphians at Niffer have added much new material to what was hitherto known of this dynasty.

But the central interest for us in the present connection lies in the relations of Palestine to the Cassite dynasty and to Babylonian culture. In the Egyptian ruins called El-Amarna, were found in 1887, some 300 clay tablets covered with writing in the Babylonian-Assyrian script and language. These were part of the royal archives of Amenophis III and Amenophis IV, whose date seems to be the second-half of the 15th century, B.C. These tablets were sent to the Pharaohs, in part by kings and in part by persons of lower rank. The kings are those of Babylon, Assyria, Mitanni and Alashia. The correspondence relates to intermarriage, the transmission of gifts and greetings, the establishment of commercial treaties, the punishment of offenders, etc., and may be called "diplomatic" and international, but with a strong mixture of the personal element. A draft or copy of one of the letters from the Pharaoh to the king of Babylon was also found. That the rulers of Western Asia and of Egypt were in such continuous, friendly correspondence is a new and very interesting fact. But that the correspondence should be con-

ducted in the Babylonian language and script, is still more remarkable and significant.

Two of the tablets contain portions of mythological poems, either from Babylon or Assyria, a fact which shows that the Egyptians felt an interest in the intellectual products of their eastern friends. This may not be without importance when we



TABLET FROM TEL-EL-AMARNA, B. C. 1450

See pages 432-3

inquire at what date the Babylonian material of Genesis I-II found its way to Canaan.

Another group of tablets, by far the larger portion, is of the nature of reports from Egyptian officials or vassals stationed in Asia, especially in the countries bordering the Mediterranean. Some of them come from the Phœnician cities Beirut, Tyre, Sidon, and others from various cities of Palestine proper, notably from Jerusalem. These reports throw a welcome light on contemporary political and social conditions in Palestine. To give a detailed account of them does not, however, fall within the scope of this paper. The reader must be referred to such works

as Evetts' *New Light on the Bible and the Holy Land*, or McCurdy's *History, Prophecy and the Monuments*.

The bearings of this great discovery, however, on Babylonian and Palestinian history must be pointed out. The extensive use of the Babylonian language for diplomatic purposes in such early times is startling. If it had been asserted before the discovery of the proof, the assertion would have been considered most improbable. How is this use of the language to be explained? One might view it as the natural result of commercial necessity. Babylonian traders would naturally keep their records in their native language. The peoples with whom or among whom they traded might be obliged to employ the same language in communicating with their Babylonian correspondents. Thus there might come to exist a class of Babylonian scribes in the various countries which had dealings with Babylon. And the commercial use of the language might develop into the diplomatic.

Far more plausible, however, is the explanation that the diplomatic use of the language is the reflection of political events. We have seen that Sargon, Amraphel, and Ammisatana warred against the West. The governors whom they appointed over conquered provinces must have been accustomed to send home regular reports, as we know was done in later Assyrian times. These governors must likewise have had their agents or sub-officers who regularly reported to them the state of affairs in the large cities and towns of the province. Thus there would arise a class of Babylonian scribes throughout the subject region. Foreign youths likewise may have gone up to Babylon as students, or Babylonian schools may have been established in the West, where this language was taught to those who were going to enter the diplomatic or the civil service. Even countries which were not subject to Babylon but were in alliance with her found communication in the Babylonian language the simplest method, and maintained a class of native or foreign scribes for this purpose.

Thus, in a natural, political way the Babylonian language and culture gained a firm hold over western Asia. How much time was required for this can only be conjectured. A half cen-

ture might suffice. But the occupation may have extended over several centuries.



FRAGMENT OF A WHITE MARBLE SLAB FROM ABU HABBA

Date not later than 2400 B. C.

Original in Constantinople

It is evident that not long before the period of the El-Amarna correspondence great political changes had taken place. By conquest Egypt had become the possessor of Palestine. But

the Babylonian culture maintained its hold, and the couriers who formerly went to Babylon bearing their reports written on clay tablets, now went to Egypt on the same mission. We can thus understand the remarkable fact that Palestinian vassals should write to their Egyptian lords in a language which was the vernacular of neither party. How long this continued after the El-Amarna times we have not yet the means of ascertaining.

Have we in the Old Testament any reminiscences of this relation of Palestine to Babylon? In answer we may say, in general, that the picture given in Genesis (12-50) of migrations and intercourse among the peoples is drawn by writers who had knowledge of these early times, whether that knowledge was derived from written or from oral sources. In particular, Gen. 14, which has been a great *crux*, becomes a most precious fragment of antiquity. Furthermore, the social and political conditions in Palestine, when the Hebrew occupation began (Joshua, Judges), especially the relation to one another of the native tribes, are not essentially different from the conditions revealed by the El-Amarna correspondence. The "Babylonish mantle" or "mantle of Shinar" (Josh. 7:21) need not be "a skilfully wrought mantle in the Babylonian style," but is more likely a mantle made at Babylon, which had come by commerce to the distant Palestine. The prostration of oneself seven times before a superior (Gen. 33:3), an isolated fact in the Old Testament, was the rule in the El-Amarna times, and one of the standing formulæ in the tablets addressed to the Pharaohs is, "Before the king my lord I prostrate myself seven times," or "seven and seven times." In regard to the material of Genesis 1-11, which bears such evident marks of a Babylonian source, much of it may have come to Palestine during the period when Egyptian kings were interested in Babylonian poetry, unless, indeed, it came with still earlier wanderings from "Ur of the Chaldees." So suggestive, indeed, is the El-Amarna discovery for the early relations of Babylon to Palestine that the great discoveries still in store for us can hardly excite surprise.

After this time follows a long period of darkness concerning these relations. It is probable that those of a political nature

were for a time entirely interrupted, and that only those of commerce continued to exist. But after some three centuries, the Babylonian king Nebuchadrezzar I (c. 1120 B.C.) styles himself, among his other military titles, "Conqueror of the land of the *Amurri*," *i. e.*, of the Amorites ("Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology," vi, 152). But whether this conquest was confined to the northern region, or whether it also took in that portion of the Amorite territory in which the Hebrews had now settled, remains uncertain.

Following this comes apparently another cessation of relations. We can, perhaps, see a sufficient explanation of this in the native Babylonian-Assyrian history. The rise of Assyria to the position of rival of Babylon, and the frequent wars between the two contestants put a natural check on distant campaigns. Furthermore, the existence of a strong Hittite power on the upper Euphrates acted as a breakwater to the Assyrian floods. When this breakwater was finally swept away, so that Palestine could be deluged from the east, we have already passed beyond the date of the great rupture in Israelitish politics.

Of the Assyrian kings before the Shalmaneser of Jehu's time, we read that Tiglathpileser (c. 1120-1100 B.C.) hunted elephants in the land of Mitanni, but that he or any other king of Assyria or Babylon had direct political relations with Palestine between c. 1120 and 930 B.C. we have no evidence. At the same time, our ignorance justifies us neither in affirming nor in denying such relations. While holding them to be improbable, for the reasons given above, the only justifiable attitude is one of open-mindedness and expectancy.

In the preceding sketch attention has been confined to those epochs and events in Babylonian-Assyrian history which have to do directly or indirectly with Palestine. No effort has been made to give a general view of this history apart from such relations. For such a view the space allotted for this paper is inadequate.



THE NILE VALLEY AT ASSUAN

The Island of Elephantine is in the distance. On the left are the western cañon walls. In the foreground is a camp of British troops

SKETCH OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PALESTINE DOWN TO ABOUT 950 B. C.

By JAMES HENRY BREASTED,
The University of Chicago.

Geography and Chronology.—The Old Empire—The First Interim.—Rise of the Middle Empire; the Feudal state.—The Second Interim.—The Hyksos.—The rise of the new Empire; the Military state; the conquest of Palestine, Syria, and Nubia; reform of Amenhotep IV; loss of the Asiatic provinces; wars of Ramses II; Libyan invasions; Southern movement of the Northern peoples.—Rise of the Priests and Mercenaries; Permanent overthrow of the native Pharaohs.

THE limited space to which this article must be confined will permit no more than the meagerest outline of the career of that great people who were so long an influential factor in the history of Palestine, not to say the dominating power of the whole East for many centuries. Numerous prefatory questions of great interest must therefore be waived. A word as to the scene of our sketch, however, cannot be dispensed with. Egypt is divided naturally, as it once was politically, into two great parts: a southern and a northern. The southern is simply a great cañon 450 miles long and averaging ten miles in width, with walls generally but a few hundred feet high. The river which originally filled this cañon has now shrunk away into the center, and the space between its banks and the cañon walls has been covered with a rich deposit of soil by the inundation (see p. 440), forming what we of the West would call "river bottoms." These are still flooded by the annual inundation. The cañon walls (see p. 438) are flanked on the west by the Sahara, on the east by the African extension of the desert of Arabia. The narrow strip of fertile land thus hemmed in by the rock walls and cut off at the south by the granite barrier of the first cataract, contains less than 5000 square miles.

The second or northern division of Egypt is the delta, once a large bay which the river, pouring in its annual deposit of soil, has transformed into a great triangle of fertile bottom, a little over a hundred miles on each side,¹ and containing somewhat over 5000 square miles. The total area of Egypt is therefore a



THE INUNDATION

From a photograph by Bonfils

little over 10,000 square miles, or about that of Vermont and Rhode Island combined. Within these narrow limits the Nile-dwellers developed their marvelous civilization.

We would gladly, if it were possible, pass by the question of chronology; the large margin of uncertainty makes any scheme very unsatisfactory. The history of Egypt falls naturally into three distinct periods, called according to their age: the old,

¹ The two river sides are approximately 100 miles each; the coast line is about 120 miles.

the middle, and the new empire; each of the earlier two being separated from the others and from us by periods of great obscurity and uncertain length. It is these which make it impossible to offer even approximately correct dates for the two older periods. The safest method (that of Meyer and Erman) is to adopt the *latest possible* termini ad quem, recollecting that in the case of the old empire they may be too late by half a millennium, and by several centuries in the case of the middle empire; the new empire will not be more than a generation or two in the wrong. This method gives the following table:

| | |
|--|------------------|
| Dynasties IV and V, not later than 2830 to 2530 B.C. | } Old Empire. |
| Dynasty VI, not later than 2530 B.C. on. | |
| Dynasty XII, not later than 2130 to 1930 B.C. | } Middle Empire. |
| Dynasty XIII, not later than 1930 B.C. on. | |
| Dynasty XVIII, about 1600 to 1400 B.C. | } New Empire. |
| Dynasty XIX, about 1400 to 1200 B.C. | |
| Dynasty XX, about 1200 to 1100 B.C. | |
| Dynasty XXI, about 1100 to 950 B.C. | |
| Dynasty XXII, about 950 B.C. on. | |

According to the entirely gratuitous but convenient dynastic division of Manetho, it will be seen that the old empire begins with the IVth dynasty, dynasties I to III being practically a blank (but see cut, p. 407); but the beginning of the Ist dynasty must, at the latest, have reached far back into the fourth millennium B.C. Following the old empire is a period (dynasties VII to XI) almost equally uncertain, while between the middle and the new empire is another obscure interim (dynasties XIV to XVII). Different estimates of these uncertain intervals have been the occasion of the absurdly discrepant chronologies of Egypt in the different histories.

The old empire offers the oldest historical example of a developed civilization, which is in any measure known to us. Even granting that Mesopotamian culture is older, it presents for the period of the old empire only an isolated date or two, with here and there a royal name. But to the existence of the greatest kings of the old empire, their pyramids still bear vivid witness; and often too these royal tombs are surrounded by a silent

city of mastabas,¹ whose walls acquaint us not merely with the names, but in graphic bas-relief also with the occupations, pastimes and daily life of a whole generation of grandees, who formed the court about the Pharaoh in life, and in death now sleep beside him. Hewn in granite, limestone or diorite, their faces are familiar to us, and even the flesh and blood features of one of these antique Pharaohs of the old empire has survived to look into our faces across nearly fifty centuries.



HEAD OF THE MUMMY OF
MER-EN-RE

(Sixth Dynasty) Now in the Museum
of Gizeh

From a photograph by Brugsch

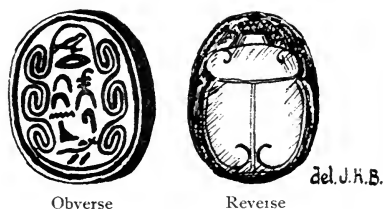
under the monarch's eyes. There is no better evidence of this strong centralization than the magnates' tombs surrounding that of the Pharaoh.

Socially there seem to have been but two classes, the noble and the serf, but it is difficult to think that the magnificent art of the old empire, which was never later surpassed, or that its marvelous mastery in mechanics, could have developed or subsisted without a class of free craftsmen.

It is far easier to draw a picture of the *life* of these earlier dynasties than to trace their *history*. Purely monumental materials are often eloquent witnesses of power and splendor, but give us little of that succession of conditions and events which form history. Imagine an attempt to trace the history of Greece solely from its surviving monuments; much of the temper of the Greek people might have found expression there, but little of

¹ Masonry tombs.

the course of events which marked their political history. So in the IVth dynasty, its rapid rise is evident from the enormous size of the Gizeh pyramids (frontispiece), but of the deeds of their builders we know little. The seat of power at this time was on the lower river, just above the forks of the delta on the west shore, in the vicinity of later Memphis. Snefru, the first king of the dynasty, conducted mining operations in the Sinaitic peninsula, and scattered the marauding Bedouin to save his works from their depredations. Commemorating this feat, he had a tablet of victory engraved upon the walls of the wady (Magarah). Several of his successors carried on similar



A SCARAB

(Art Institute of Chicago, No. 1391)

Sacred beetle of blue glazed steatite, bearing on the obverse the inscription: "Magnate of the South, Senebtefi," being the title and name of an official of high rank in the old empire. (Published for the first time.)

works, the earliest instances of contact with Asia. The three centuries during which the IVth and Vth dynasties ruled, early show a steady decline of power, parallel with the decreasing size of the pyramids (see p. 409), until in the VIth dynasty, it is evident that the central power is disintegrating. The Pharaoh is no longer able to hold his nobles in check; they now no longer build their tombs alongside that of the king, but are buried on their own ancestral estates, where they have doubtless resided, rather than at court as before.

A court favorite of this time named Una has left us in his biography an account of how he led a body of Egyptian troops into the peninsula of Sinai, where he five times routed the enemy. After this he brought his army in vessels by sea, on an expedition, as he says, "north of the land of the sand-dwellers."¹ This, of course, means penetrating further northward into Asia along the Mediterranean coast. It is possible, even probable, that Palestine was reached, for he speaks of attaining the "further

¹ That the Egyptians of this time also made *defensive* provision against incursions across the isthmus by these nomads, is probable, for the pyramid texts always write the names of the bitter lakes on the isthmus with a *wall* as the determinative.

highlands," but few details further than the defeat of the enemy are given. With the exception of a few collisions with the negroes, a voyage to Punt (south end of the Red Sea) and the remarkable expedition of the nobleman, Hri-khuf into the Soudan, the above are the only achievements of the old empire outside of Egypt, so far as we know them. They show the totally unwarlike character, as well as the isolation, of Egypt at this time. But this isolation may be only apparent, and due to the meagerness of our material. Such loan words as *qemah* (Hebrew קֶמֶח) "flour," or 'adm (אֶדְמָה) a kind of red fabric, both common at this time, would indicate a measure of acquaintance with Semitic products and peoples.

Having ruled possibly 150 years, the VIth dynasty sank gradually into obscurity; with it fell the old empire, leaving as its witnesses, the irregular line of pyramids, which stretch for forty miles along the margin of the desert, on the west side of the Nile, from the apex of the delta southward to Medum.

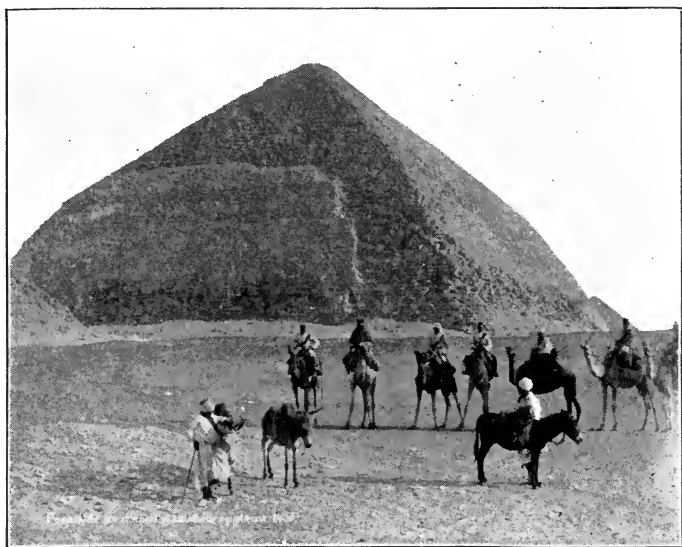
From the fall of the VIth to the rise of the XIIth dynasty our sources are too meager to show us more than the state of internal confusion, into which the growing independence of the VIth dynasty nobles had thrown the nation.¹ In the XIth dynasty it is possible to trace the transition from the preceding chaos to the orderly government of the middle empire, established by the rise of a Theban family.

The political organization of the middle empire which begins with the XIIth dynasty, was essentially that of a feudal state; it shows that during the obscure period, which preceded, the nobles have won a large degree of independence, the beginnings of which we have already seen in the VIth dynasty. Social conditions have not materially changed since the old empire. The seat of power was not at Thebes, as is usually stated, but far down the river some forty miles above Memphis, in or near the Fayum basin.²

¹ This disorder may also have been partially due to foreign invasion. The strange race discovered by Mr. Petrie in the winter of 1894-5, was apparently in Egypt at this time, and may be connected with the decline of Egyptian power. A fine collection of their pottery is in Haskell Museum.

² Though the royal line was evidently of Theban origin.

The Amenemhets and the Usertesens, the powerful monarchs of the XIIth dynasty, ruled with a sagacity and firmness which maintained their family for 200 years upon the throne. This is the classic period of Egyptian history; the system of writing for the first time attains a consistent regularity and literature flourishes.



UNIDENTIFIED STONE PYRAMID OF THE DASHUR GROUP

See p. 446

Desert patrol in the foreground *From a photograph by Bonfils*

At home, the greatest achievements of these kings were the enormous hydraulic works for recovering a portion of the flooded basin of the Fayum (Lake Moeris); at the same place Amenemhet III built the vast structure known as the labyrinth. Abroad, Usertesen III accomplished the first permanent extension of the empire by capturing Nubia, pushing the frontier to a point above the second cataract, and establishing there two fortresses commanding the river. This province he then connected with Egypt by a canal at the first cataract. No military enterprises seem to have been attempted in the East, save the usual defense of the mines in the peninsula of Sinai; somewhere on the eastern fron-

tier was a great fortification against the barbarians, which, perhaps, existed in the old empire (see p. 443 note).

Diplomatic relations, however, were maintained with the petty states in neighboring Asia, for the papyrus of Sinuhe, an Egyptian fugitive in Palestine, represents him as saying, "The messengers north and south to the court¹ tarried with me;" again the Prince of Tenu says to him, "Thou art happy with me, thou hearest the tongue of Egypt." The presence of Egyptians in Palestine at this remote period is therefore assured. On the other hand, the paintings in the Benihasan tombs show us, that at this same period, Asiatics in Egypt were not an uncommon sight; for here men of Semitic blood appear among the native troops of the district; whether permanently or on some special occasion is questionable. The well-known scene of the thirty-seven Semites, led by their shech "Absha," and presenting the Prince Khnum-hotep with a gift of *kohl* (eye cosmetic), proves how open was Egypt of this time to the entrance of such foreigners.²

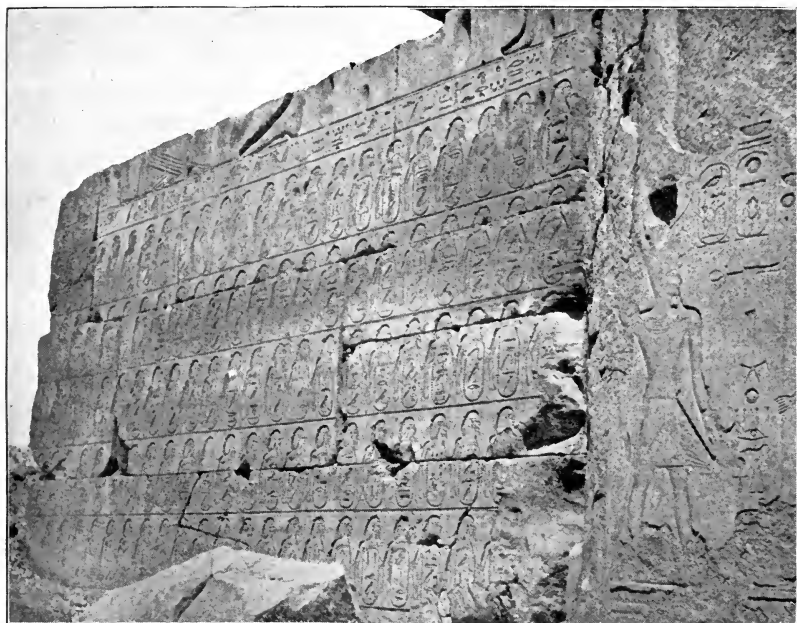
The kings of the XIIth dynasty have left us their pyramids at the mouth of the Fayum, at Lisht, and at Dashur; all but two of those at the last mentioned place were opened during the winters of 1893-4 and 1894-5 (see p. 405). Under their successors of the XIIIth dynasty, the power of the Pharaohs is again on the decline, resulting finally in the second great period of uncertainty. Passing over the obscurities of the period, all that we certainly know is, that for a few generations before its close, we find the country in the power of foreigners, usually called the Hyksos, who took possession of the delta and the valley for an uncertain distance up the river. This fact shows that they came from the north; their subsequent retreat into Asia would indicate their Asiatic origin; the name given them by Josephus (Hyksos), especially the name by which they are

¹The word is used only of the court of the Pharaohs. Sinuhe was at this time living in *Qedem*, not Edom, as stated by Sayce (in *Criticism and Monuments*, p. 266), who takes his Egyptian sources at secondhand from old translations. This is an error which was corrected more than ten years ago (ERMAN, *Aegypten*, p. 495).

²The application of this scene to Abraham's entrance into Egypt is simple absurdity. In a general way, however, it corroborates the narrative of his friendly reception there.

called on the monuments ('amu), and finally their observable influence on Egypt would indicate a Semitic race.

Against these usurpers the princes of Thebes finally waged a war of independence, which was brought to a successful issue by Ahmose, the founder and first king of the XVIIIth dynasty.



PART OF THE GEOGRAPHICAL LIST OF DHUTMOSE III

A Pylon at Karnak containing the names of places in Asia conquered by him. No. 8 in the fourth row is the name "Joseph-el," and No. 8 in the fifth row is "Jacob-el" (Mariette, *Karnak*, pays du nord. Iere Liste, Nos. 78 and 102.)

See p. 449

From a photograph by Bonfils

He drove the enemy from their final stronghold, Avaris, somewhere in the northeastern delta, and pursued them into southern Palestine as far as Sharuhén (Joshua 19:6). With the return of Ahmose and the reorganization of the state which we call the new empire, we see it emerging under a new form. It is now a great military state, as has been well said, not unlike that of Napoleon I, and made so by the wars with the Hyksos, who

taught the Egyptians warfare and brought the horse for the first time into Egypt. During this struggle the local barons of the middle empire have disappeared; the nobles are no longer local proprietors, but simply hold rank in the Pharaoh's service; the



HEAD OF THE MUMMY OF
DHUTMOSE III

(Eighteenth Dynasty) Now in the
Museum of Gizeh

From a photograph by Brugsch

Pharaoh personally owns the land.¹ For the first time there is a great standing army, into which we see Egyptian gentlemen entering as professional soldiers, and from now on the soldier is the most prominent figure in political life. Side by side with him, for the first time also as a power in the state, now stands the priest. Soldier and priest, therefore, replace the barons of the middle and the functionaries of the old empire.

From Thebes, now just beginning its career of splendor, the great military monarchs of the XVIIIth dynasty went forth to cross the isthmus and conquer Palestine and Syria, or to pass up the river into Nubia and push the southern frontier of Egypt above the third cataract. Both these enterprises were successfully accomplished by Dhutmose (Thothmes) I, grandson of Ahmose. But he did not live to organize his Asiatic conquests into provinces of his empire. The succession of his daughter, Hatshepsowet² interrupted the course of foreign conquest, for this remarkable queen was not given to war and neglected the empire abroad. Her greatest feat was the successful dispatch of a fleet to Punt on the southern Red Sea. Meantime the Asiatics fell away. Some twenty years after the death of Dhutmose I, Egyptian conquest in Asia is resumed by his son Dhutmose III, who succeeds his sister, Hat-shepsowet. In no less than fifteen great campaigns he subdued all Palestine and Syria

¹ This is clear in the XIXth dynasty, and is to be inferred also for the XVIIIth; in Genesis we have the Pharaoh's ownership of the land, attributed to the skill of Joseph.

² She apparently overthrew her brother Dhutmose II.

(see p. 447); he planted a tablet of victory alongside that of his father on the banks of the Euphrates, he organized the conquered districts into provinces, built forts, established garrisons, appointed governors, and when he died after a reign of fifty-four years, he was regularly receiving tribute from the uttermost parts of a vast empire extending from the upper Euphrates to the third cataract of the Nile. All that honor which we, following classic tradition have accorded Ramses II, belongs to Dhutmose III as the greatest military genius of early oriental history.

This position of power and splendor, the influx of untold wealth, the sudden mingling with the life and culture of Asiatic peoples, reacted powerfully upon Egypt, as well in political as in social and industrial life, producing after the reign of Dhutmose III the most profound and far reaching changes. During the XVIII dynasty, up to the time of Dhutmose III, social conditions were not radically different from those of the middle empire, so that there is more of change in this particular, in and immediately following his reign, than during the entire interim from the middle to the new empire. Among many of these changes



del. J. H. B.

SCARAB OF AMENHOTEP III

(Art Institute of Chicago, No. 1446)

One of a series of scarabs issued by this king, commemorating ten years of successful hunting. There are many in the European museums; the above is one of a triplicate in the Art Institute and now published for the first time. The inscription reads: "Living Horus, mighty bull, shining in truth; Uniter of the Two Lands, Establisher of Laws, who quiets the Two Lands; Golden (?) Horus, mighty in strength, smiting the Asiatics; King of Upper and Lower Egypt, Nib-ma'-Re'; Son of Re', Amenhotep, Sovereign of Thebes, who giveth life. The Royal Wife, Tey, who liveth. Statement of lions which his majesty brought down with his own arrow, from year one to year ten: savage lions, 102." (Some have 110, e.g., Louvre No. 580.) Similar inscribed scarabs were issued by the same king on two other occasions: one commemorating the completion of an artificial lake constructed for his queen, Tey; the other on his marriage to an Asiatic princess named Giluchipa. (See p. 450.)

we notice the vast influx of foreign captives, taken especially in the Asiatic wars. They were utilized particularly in the kings' buildings, and in just such a manner as the Hebrews were employed. In the tomb paintings the Semite may occasionally



HEAD OF AMENHOTEP IV

From a photograph by Harrison

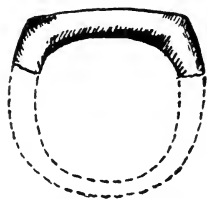
Artist's study on limestone block; original in Haskell Museum,
found by the writer at El Amarna, '95 (see p. 451).

be recognized. In general all those changes which affect a people of simple habits, when suddenly raised to a position of great power, are now observable. Asiatic princesses for three traceable generations and probably longer are given in marriage to the Pharaoh by their royal fathers (see cut page 449). In the industrial and æsthetic arts, in language, in costume, in religion, in pastimes, in war Egypt is now strongly tinctured by Semitic Asia. Even far off Mycenæ, too, is present in pottery and metal work.

Under the two immediate successors of Dhutmose III his vast conquests in Asia were maintained with vigilance, followed by some relaxation under Amenhotep III (see p. 449).

Among the sudden developments of the early new empire, was a striking and abnormal growth in religious beliefs, especially those concerning the hereafter. It was this movement, which created many, if not the bulk, of those magical formulæ, which when united, form our so-called "Book of the Dead." This is

simply a collection of magical texts to be recited by the deceased for the purpose of procuring him certain advantages in the hereafter. The more of such formulæ there were, the more might the deceased procure; this is in general the motive for multiplying such texts. There was no possible lack, no conceivable dilemma, which might not be met, no blessing which might not be secured for the deceased by thus manufacturing the proper spell; a large and finally stereotyped collection of such texts written on papyrus was therefore placed in each tomb. Hence our many



del. J.H.B.

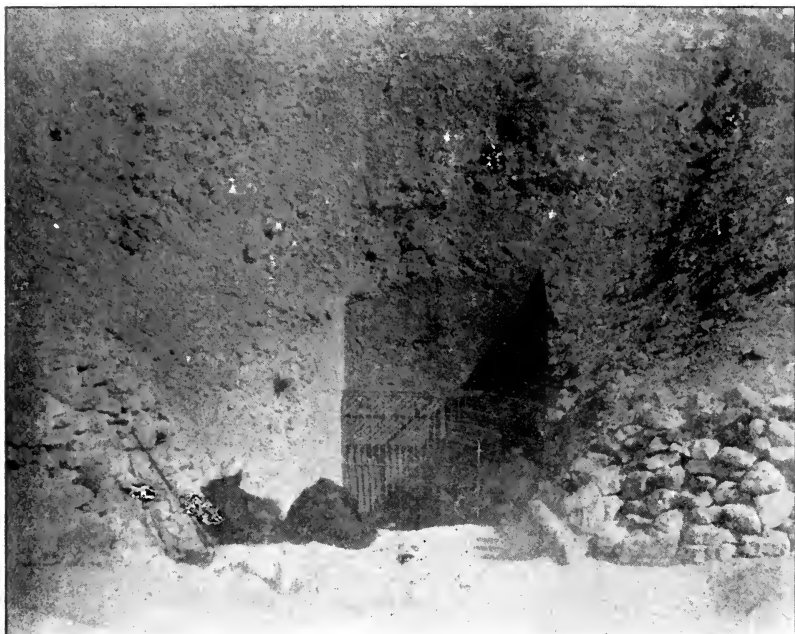
POTTERY RING WITH NAME OF AMEN-HOTEP IV

From Haskell Oriental Museum; published for the first time

copies of the so-called "Book of the Dead." With the increase of these formulæ came also the multiplication of the gods and demons, to whom they were directed and who obeyed them as a puppet is manipulated by a string. But a quite contrary tendency had also long existed,—a tendency which saw in the innumerable gods of Egypt, only many names and forms for one great god. Provoked by the rising power of the Theban Amon, Amenhotep IV, the most interesting figure in the history of Egypt, gave this tendency practical and political expression; he suppressed the worship of all the traditional gods, especially that of Amon, whose name he erased from end to end of his empire; he changed his own name, which contained that of Amon, to 'Ikh-en-Aten ("Brilliance of the Sun"); he removed his capital from Thebes to the plain of Tel-el-Amarna and established the sole worship of one god, the sun, under the name "Aten." The new faith was simply a resort to nature and to nature's god, who is now recognized as *one*. The surviving hymns containing all we know of it, delight in reiterated examples of his creative power, as seen in plants, animals,

*The popular misconception, which sees in the "Book of the Dead," the "Bible of the ancient Egyptians," will doubtless be perpetuated by the recent translations.

and men or the great world itself, and then of his benevolent sustenance of all he has created. But it is not ethical; there is no hint that the recognition of a great beneficent purpose carries with it morality and righteousness in the character of god, or the demand for these in the character of men. Nevertheless



THE RECENTLY DISCOVERED TOMB OF AMENHOTEP IV

In a lonely wady twelve miles back of Tel-el-Amarna

From a photograph by Breasted

the entire movement was far in advance of the age. Amenhotep reigned seventeen years and died leaving no son; with him perished the great movement, which solely by his own personal power he had sustained against the tremendous inertia of immemorial tradition. The Amonite priests wreaked vengeance upon the body, the tomb, the temple (see p. 453) and city of the hated idealist, and reestablished the traditional religion.

The Amarna letters afford us a vivid picture of the provincial administration of this period, and of the plotting and counterplotting of the petty, semi-independent Palestinian rulers, each

for preference with the home government over his fellows. But the far-reaching disturbances accompanying the reform of Amenhotep IV weakened the foreign administration and the Asiatic provinces revolted. Neither could the royal house withstand the shock and the XVIIIth dynasty fell.



KARNAK, PYLON OF HOR-EM-HEB

Southern Pylons at Karnak; the one in the distance is constructed of blocks taken from some demolished building of Amenhotep IV

With the rise of the XIXth dynasty new conditions confronted the Pharaohs in Asia. The Hittites, foemen fully equal to the contest with Egypt for the possession of the Asiatic provinces, had meantime pressed into Syria from Asia Minor and advancing up the Orontes had occupied the country between the Lebanons as far south as its upper waters. Thus Seti I, after receiving the ready submission of Palestine, was able to push no further than a little northward of Carmel, gaining the southern coast of Phœnicia. His son Ramses II, after continuous

war for nearly twenty years, fails to break the power of the stubborn Hittites or to wrench from them the northern conquests of Dhutmose III. He therefore concludes a peace with them on equal terms (see p. 455), having permanently advanced his northern boundaries very little beyond those of his father Seti I. The Egyptian province in Asia is now essentially within the limits of Palestine with the addition of the Phœnician coast cities as far north as Beirut. The enormously long reign of Ramses II (sixty-seven years) and the astonishing number of his great buildings made him the ideal Pharaoh in the eyes of later generations, especially in the classic world. Even if there were not other evidence in favor of the same conclusion, it is probable that he was in the mind of the writer, who could speak of the oppressor of the Israelites as merely "Pharaoh." But since the indications now are that he was the builder of Pithom (Ex. 1:11) the identification is tolerably certain.

Under the successors of Ramses II the empire, hard beset by Libyan invasion, again sank into weakness and confusion, resulting in the fall of the dynasty, and an anarchy in which even a foreigner might temporarily seize the throne. The majority of those who have guessed at the Pharaoh of the Exodus, have hit upon this period of weakness for the event, and the son of Ramses II as the man. It would be of little use to the reader to add another to these conjectures. The first mention of the Israelites on an Egyptian monument occurs in a great inscription from the fifth year of Merenptah just discovered by Mr. Petrie at Thebes. Among other conquered Asiatic peoples, Merenptah mentions Israel, saying, "The people of Ysiraal is spoiled, it hath no seed." Whether this vague statement is mere boasting or not (and it most probably is), it shows that there were Israelites in Palestine in the fifth year of Merenptah. Whether or not these Israelites were fugitives from Egypt does not appear and the Pharaoh of the Exodus is still uncertain.¹ Be

¹The certainty of Sayce on this subject (*Criticism and the Monuments*, p. 237) is not shared by many students of the monuments, and is in danger of misleading the layman. The only evidence connecting the *oppression* with the XIXth dynasty is

it noted, however, that whenever the Exodus may have occurred, at any time between 1550 and 1100 B.C., the Hebrews found Palestine an Egyptian province.

Egypt is now irretrievably on the decline, and the rise of this or that family into power is but a local incident in her



TREATY OF PEACE BETWEEN RAMSES II AND THE HITTITES ON THE TEMPLE WALL AT KARNAK

From a photograph by Breasted

decay. The advent of the XXth dynasty under Ramses III was therefore but a deceptive rally. This king, who in every way imitated Ramses II, succeeded in turning back the tide of Libyan invasion, already serious at the close of the XIXth dynasty. He was noticeably successful in maintaining his Asiatic frontier at essentially the same limits as those of Ramses II, and this

the city name Pithom (Ex. 1:11); for connecting the *exodus* with Egyptian history chronologically, the monuments had up to the date of Mr. Petrie's discovery offered nothing. See *Contemporary Review* for May, 1896.



MUMMY OF RAMSES II (see page 454)

against an inpouring horde of barbarians¹ from the north, who advanced southward by sea and land. But his is an empty prosperity; affairs at home are in the worst possible condition. From the fall of the XIXth dynasty, the internal history of Egypt is but the story of the overthrow of the native Pharaohs and the usurpation of the throne, first by the priests of Amon, and then by foreign mercenaries. The office of the priest and soldier, the strength of the state in the early new empire is now perverted to the destruction of the ancient nation. Ramses XII, the ninth of the feeble Ramessides who followed Ramses III was quietly set aside by the high priest of Amon at Thebes, Hri-Hor. The priests did not long succeed in retaining royal

¹ Some of these peoples, either at this time or shortly after, advanced southward and settled on the coast just north of the Egyptian frontier to become the Philistines of Israelitish history. The Hittites seem by this time to have lost their aggressiveness.

honors, for a Tanitic family (dynasty XXI) arose in the delta, who forced them from the throne and reconciled the priestly party by themselves assuming the high priesthood of Amon. This overthrow of the Ramessides of the XXth dynasty could not have occurred much later than 1100. It lost Palestine to Egypt and permitted the rise of the Israelitish monarchy during the eleventh and tenth centuries, in a region which for about 500 years had been an Egyptian province.

From very early times the Egyptians, naturally unwarlike, had received Libyan mercenaries among their troops. From the rise of the XIXth dynasty onward the native forces were more and more inclined to relinquish the sword to these foreigners, who increase in numbers with every subsequent reign. The victories of Ramses III were for the most part due to them. About 950, when the power of the native Pharaohs was at its lowest ebb, these powerful military adventurers thrust aside the feeble XXId dynasty and assumed the kingship, forming the XXId dynasty. They are now entirely Egyptianized and reside at Bubastis in the delta. The first ruler of the family, Sheshonk (biblical Shishak) early planned for the recovery of the ancient province of Palestine. Hence it was that he received Jeroboam so willingly and seized the opportunity of a division among the Israelites (with which it is not impossible he had something to do), to reconquer Palestine and plunder Jerusalem (1 Kings 14:25-26). This attempted reconquest,¹ apparently little more than a plundering expedition, was not enduring.

¹It was repeated attempts of a similar nature during the Assyro-Babylonian period which resulted so disastrously for Israel and Judah, and formed the foreign background for so many utterances of the greater prophets of the time.



Obverse



Reverse

SEAL OF THE GRAND VIZIER OF
RAMSES II

Funereal pottery bead of the grand vizier of Ramses II. Obverse: Governor of the City and Vizier, Pa-Re'-hotep, deceased. Reverse: the vizier doing reverence before the name of Ramses II. From the collection of the Art Institute of Chicago; published for the first time.

del J.H.B.

The rise of Sheshonk closes the career of the native Pharaohs and concludes the history of Egypt under native rule. From this time on there was "no more a prince in the land of Egypt."

The materials from which this sketch is drawn are the fullest accessible sources for the geography and civilization of pre-Israelitish Palestine; they contain much more of the greatest interest, to which our limited space will not permit even a passing reference. The story of the full influence of Egypt upon Palestinian civilization lies buried beneath many an unexplored *tell*, which, like that of el-Hesy must yet yield up its secrets to the excavator.

A SKETCH OF CANAANITISH HISTORY TO ABOUT THE YEAR 1000 B.C.

By GEORGE S. GOODSPEED,
The University of Chicago.

The sources mostly from without.—Reasons for this.—Origin and movements of Canaanites.—Canaanites and Amorites.—The Phœnician settlements.—The Sidonian period.—Canaan under Babylonian and Egyptian influences.—Affairs in the fourteenth century.—The Tyrian period.—Palestine about 1200 B.C.—Israel and the Canaanites.

The Canaanitish peoples have left few historical remains from which any adequate account of them can be given. Indeed to trace their development with anything like continuity is quite impossible. But the scattered and imperfect materials which they furnish of themselves are enlarged and provided with something like a definite background by the more complete and closely related historical memorials of the great nations, their neighbors, on the Nile and the Euphrates. Without these our task would be both wearisome and unprofitable. Wearisome it may even now prove to be, but, it is hoped, not altogether, unprofitable.

The reasons for the comparative backwardness of knowledge regarding the history of Syria are not far to seek. (1) Excavation in Canaanite lands has not been carried on in anything like the same measure as in Egypt or Babylonia. (2) The situation of this region, its geographical characteristics, its political and social environment, were such as to discourage continuity of historical development, unity of political life, and hence the production and preservation of historical memorials. This fact is more fundamental and decisive. The details of the geography of Syria are fully presented, and brilliantly described in G. A. Smith's *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. The main points are: (a) The mountainous character of the country which isolates inhabitants and makes intercourse dif-

ficult. (b) The proximity of the Arabian Desert and the openness of the land on that side. (c) The position between the empires of Assyria and Babylonia on the east and Egypt on the west. It is easy to see how these characteristics work together to make the origination, establishment and permanency of national unity difficult, if not impossible. The feeling of race connection is soon weakened by local separation; the growing civilization is from time to time overwhelmed by nomadic hordes from the deserts; and the land, made the battleground and regarded as the prize of the empires on either border, cannot find the opportunity to develop independent and vigorous institutions. But where organization and unity in political and social life are wanting, there is slight encouragement for kings to make memorials, or peoples to preserve the remembrance of that which they have been or done. Whatever memorial may be once established is exposed to a variety of vicissitudes in the constantly changing fate of the nations, the inroads of new tribes and the wars of the great empires.

At present, therefore, the materials at hand, are of the slightest description, a fact that has an important bearing upon any sketch of Canaanitish history. The Canaanites occupied in historic times, to speak approximately, the lower half of Syria from the Lebanon south to the desert, and from the borders of Arabia to the Mediterranean, with an offshoot up the seacoast nearly to the mouth of the Orontes. Greek writers gave the names Phœnicia to the coast land from Mount Carmel northward, and Palestine to the rest of the region. The Egyptians used the term *Zahi* for Phœnicia. Their designation for Palestine varied in different periods. The most general term was "Upper Rutenu" which perhaps included rather more than Palestine proper on the north and excluded the western plain. Another word was *Haru* which more exactly covered the region of Palestine, both highland and coast plain. We find also in the time of the XIXth dynasty *Ka-n'-na*, i.e. Canaan, used in the Egyptian inscriptions to denote Palestine and Phœnicia. It is a remarkable fact that the people occupying these regions never gave to themselves or their country any common name.



LEBANON

from a photograph by Bouffis

The problems connected with the origin and movements of the Canaanites and their ethnological relations are many and difficult. One thing only may be taken as certain, that the peoples of the region which has been described spoke essentially a common language. Hebrews, Phœnicians, Canaanites, the people east of the Jordan, were distinguishable linguistically only by dialectical variations from an original basis of Semitic speech. But does linguistic affinity argue racial relationship or merely historical connection? There have been instances of peoples borrowing the language of neighbors or of those into whose land they have come. Did both Phœnicians and Hebrews adopt the speech of Canaan? Were they of different stock and brought by their historic associations into such intimate relation with Canaanites as to make this exchange possible? No cogent argument has ever been brought forward on behalf of this position,¹ while the probabilities are all in favor of the linguistic affinity pointing to an original racial unity.

It is agreed that these Semitic Canaanites came into the land of their settlement from the desert of Arabia, the center of Semitic migration from prehistoric times. Whether they entered from the northeast and were gradually crowded west and south by those that followed them, or whether they came up from the south and southeast and were pushed northward and westward is quite uncertain, with the probabilities slightly in favor of the former theory. Classical writers, indeed, tell of the traditions that make the Phœnicians come from the "Erythraean sea" or the "Syrian lake;" but not only are the regions referred to indeterminate, the traditions themselves are untrustworthy. The movement from the desert over the border was presumably gradual and cumulative, until the land was filled. Indeed, Syria being open to the desert, a constant movement would keep up unless there came to be united strength enough in the land to oppose a barrier to the oncoming nomads. Thus, first Palestine and then Phœnicia, down to the farthest point and promontory, became settled.

¹ Professor Sayce in *Higher Criticism and the Verdict of the Monuments*, p. 357 f., argues in its behalf.

But did these Canaanites find peoples not of their blood in the land before them? No strong objection lies against this hypothesis. It is favored by the various biblical references to prehistoric inhabitants, difficult of interpretation as these may be. The real problem centers about the question of the relation of Canaanites and Amorites. The Hexateuch represents these as two peoples dividing the land of Palestine between them on the entrance of Israel. It is claimed by one class of scholars that the two names signify but one people, Amorite being used by one writer E, and Canaanite by the other writer J, for the pre-Israelite inhabitants of the land. Other scholars argue for the separate existence of the two peoples, the Canaanites having found Amorites before them. Appeal is made to the pictures of the different races of Palestine on the Egyptian monuments as substantiating this view. The problem is still unsettled. In the Egyptian inscriptions of a period preceding the Hebrew invasion of Palestine *Amor* signifies a region just north of Palestine, the upper Orontes valley, not a region or people of Palestine. The Hittites occupied *Amor* in the period of the XIXth dynasty and the term ceases to appear on the inscriptions.

It is quite impossible to determine even approximately the date of this Canaanite migration. That it was before the middle of the third millennium may be argued from the Phœnician tradition preserved by Herodotus¹ that the founding of the temple and city of Tyre took place about 2750 B.C. But, as Meyer² suggests, this tradition may be interpreted merely as preserving the date back of which Syrian historical recollections could not pass. That the settlement was much earlier than this is probable. It is certainly true that historical progress began at a very early period among the seacoast peoples. They settled the narrow strip between the mountains and the sea, protected by the one, and forced by the narrowness of the land to venture out upon the other. Headlands jutting out into the sea separate the coast into valleys whose inhabitants can communicate better by water than by land. Here upon promontories or

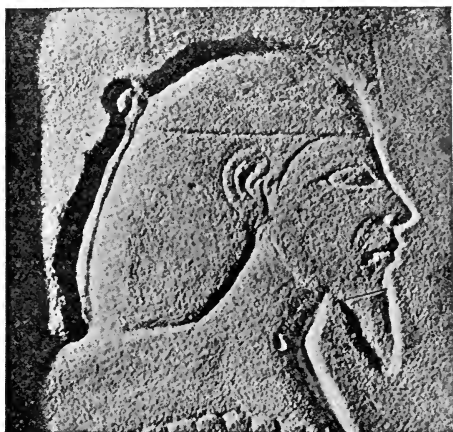
¹ 2:44.

² *Geschichte des Altertums*, I, § 183.

islands the first settlements were planted, chief among which were Sidon, Tyre and Byblos. The two former became merchant cities of the first rank. Around Byblos gather some of the most important religious traditions of the people. All the towns lay at about a day's sail from each other, and many at the foot of roads leading up into the interior. There are no harbors on the coast which are worth the name. It is evident that no people accustomed to ships would have chosen this region for its maritime advantages. The Phœnicians are examples of a development occasioned by environment. Once having pushed forward into this narrow region they are forced onto the water and become, in spite of themselves, the sailors and tradesmen of the ancient world. The meaning of Sidon—"fishing" port—suggests the reason for the earliest essays at navigation and the basis of the trade of that city. It may explain also the fact that for a long period Sidon held the preëminence among the Phœnician settlements, and gave the name to the entire body of inhabitants of the coast down to a comparatively late date. The Phœnicians are frequently called Sidonians in the Old Testament. That Homer and the older portions of the Old Testament mention Sidon but not Tyre, has been frequently observed. The conclusion has been drawn that Tyre was an offshoot from Sidon, and a passage from Justin (18 : 3, 5) quoted to substantiate it. Justin tells of the conquest of Sidon by the king of Askalon, and the flight of its inhabitants who thereupon founded Tyre. But the mention of Tyre on earlier monuments shows that this statement is false. It was only about the time of the close of the second millennium that Tyre took the commanding place in Phœnician affairs and Sidon's name disappears. The kernel of truth in the passage from Justin may be the removal of some of Sidon's inhabitants to Tyre in consequence of internal feud or outward attack and the resulting advance of Tyre at the expense of her rival.

Writers are accustomed from this point of view to divide Phœnician history into a Sidonian and a Tyrian period. The date which separates them would be about 1200 B.C. Long before that time had the Phœnicians under Sidon's leadership made

those journeys over the sea which filled their cities with wealth and prosperity, and had established their fame as the great commercial people of antiquity. It is no exaggeration to place the beginnings of these commercial enterprises in the year 2000 B. C. Creeping around the coast of Asia Minor or striking boldly across to Cyprus and thence to the Ægean, their ships landed at all points where the country was attractive and opportunities for trade were given. Thasos with its gold mines and Cythera with its mussels that yielded the famous purple dye were early places of Phœnician settlement in the Ægean sea. In such places they established trading posts



SYRIAN

or set up factories, where the products of the region were most easily accessible. They exchanged for these the more finished products of the Orient, the manufactures of Babylonia and Egypt. With the wares they brought also the ideas, the civilization, of the Oriental world. All worked upon the rudely developed West with mighty power. The cities and treasures discovered by Schliemann in the ruins of Mycenæ, Tiryns and Troy are the results of the union of Greek genius with Oriental culture mediated largely through Phœnician traders. About the year 1500 B.C. this intercourse was at its height.

Looking at Phœnician history as a part of Canaanitish history and its place in the larger development of the Semitic world, we may trace the progress of the Canaanites as they are affected by the movements of the two great nations of Babylonia and Egypt. The attitude of these peoples toward Syria and Palestine is in general clearly apprehended. It was governed by the deter-

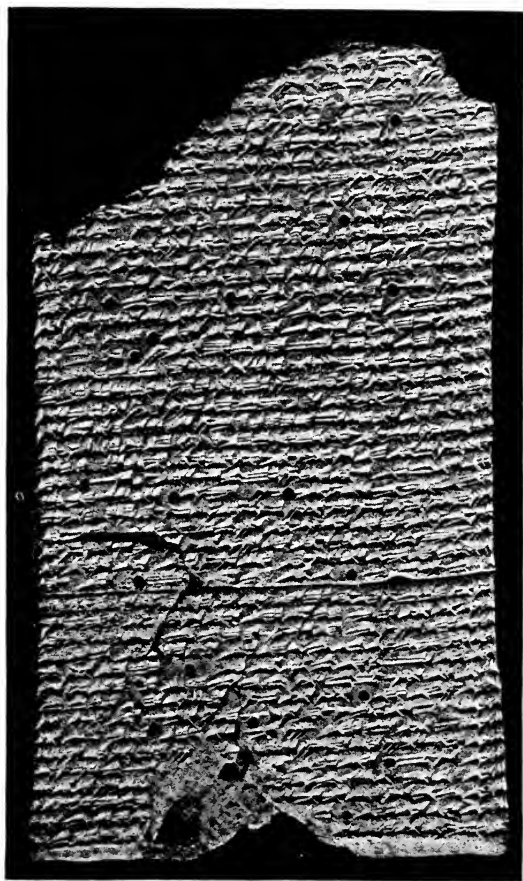
mination to control the trade routes which ran through these regions, and to assert authority over the centers of commerce. But we are becoming more clearly aware, as the result of constant excavation of new sites and decipherment of materials in hand, of the details of these relations. As other papers in this series have indicated, the Babylonian rulers seem from earliest times down to about the year 1800 B.C. to have exercised a nominal headship and, at times, a real authority over northern Syria at least, if not over Canaan. Sharganisharali (*ca.* 3800 B.C.) reached the Mediterranean and sailed to Cyprus, if his omen tablet is to be believed. He was followed by others along the centuries who claim to have been in these regions or to have ruled over them. Gudea (*ca.* 3000 B.C.) drew materials from the west for the building of his temples and palaces. The notable expedition alluded to in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, while not directly substantiated by the Babylonian monuments may very reasonably be regarded as in harmony with the Babylonian politics. According to it, during the twenty-third century B.C., the Elamite king was lord of southeastern Palestine and, in order to subdue a rebellion in the rich trading cities of the valley of the lower Jordan, advanced with an army into the east Jordan region and conquered the cities and their allies. It was on his return along the same route through lands presumably the conquest of the eastern empire that Abram attacked his army and recovered the spoil. Ammisatana of the first (?) dynasty of Babylon (*ca.* 2100 B.C.) calls himself king of *Martu*, which has been interpreted as Phœnicia.

The Babylonian influence exerted through these long spaces of time upon the west showed itself in the transplanting of the elements of that culture. Art and literature were affected by it. The Babylonian religious texts, the gods and the language became well known. Thus light is thrown upon the strange fact that the Egyptian dispatches of the fifteenth century were written in Babylonian cuneiform characters. Too much stress should not be laid on the significance of the fact, since it appears from the documents that the scribes who wrote these letters were at princely courts, and that their use of the cuneiform is not incon-

sistent with a comparatively small knowledge of Babylonian among the people at large. Yet, with this allowance made, the importance of this discovery is real. Babylonia must have pressed her stamp deeply into the structure of Syrian and Palestinian life to have made her language a means of intercourse if it be merely between diplomatists of the fifteenth century.

With the Hyksos rule over Egypt (*ca.* 1800 B.C.) the civilization of the empire on the Nile begins to affect Syria. There is, indeed, good reason to hold that, long before this time, Egyptian influences were felt in Palestine and Phœnicia. It was natural for the nomads of the desert to pass over into the fertile region of the Nile, and in times of famine Egypt was the granary of Palestine. Under the VIth dynasty Una records an expedition to chastise

the "rebels" living north of the desert, a reference which W. Max Müller¹ connects with the inhabitants of the south-



TABLET OF ASSUR-NATSIR-PAL I. B. C. 1800

¹ *Asien und Europa*, p. 33.

west coast of Palestine. This would be the earliest direct statement of active interference on the part of Egypt in the affairs of Palestine. With the campaigns of the kings of the XVIIIth dynasty in Syria the first really detailed information of the character and progress of the Canaanite peoples is afforded. The discussion of these campaigns must be left to the other writers in this series. The lists of towns and districts conquered throughout Palestine with the tribute levied upon them would lead one to think of the country as densely populated, the city-state as a well-established form of government with its king or nobility at the head, the social life as rich and varied; the products of the land and of industry as abundant, and of excellent quality, wealth and luxury as characteristic elements of the civilization, all these reaching their height in the seacoast cities of Phœnicia.

The Tel-el-Amarna documents from this same dynasty are still more enlightening. They reveal the Egyptian method of governing the provinces, by recognizing the native princes in some cases as vassals and continuing them in their former authority, in other cases by appointing an Egyptian governor who, with an Egyptian troop, is stationed in the capital city and controls the country round about. They show the comparative rudeness of the Canaanites of the interior as over against the people of the coast or the Egyptians themselves. Their customs were just above the savage. The rights of ambassadors were but slowly obtaining recognition. Quarrels between these petty states, feuds between great lords, fought out with peculiar ferocity, are a normal condition.

Just at that period, indeed, not far from 1450 B.C., Canaanite affairs were in particular confusion. New peoples were driving down from the north and Palestine was feeling the pressure. The Hittites were threatening the Amorite land. Egypt's authority was not equal to the strain. Wars among the princes and even the Egyptian governors became more open and violent. The political and social structure was falling to pieces. These conditions were alleviated by the loss of the northern provinces within the next twenty-four years. The early kings of the

XIXth dynasty found it impossible to hold Syria north of Palestine, but their authority over Palestine was so much the greater Ramses II seems really to have organized the region in a very thorough way, and his sway extended over Phœnicia as



PECTORAL

One of the Pectorals from the royal jewelry (XIIth dynasty) found at the Dashur Pyramids, '94-'5. It consists of a gold framework inlaid with blue, green, and red crystal

From a photograph by Brugsch

well. During his reign there was the closest possible relation between Egypt and Canaan, a relation continuing during the reign of his son Merenptah, and renewed under Ramses III of the XXth dynasty.

About the beginning of the twelfth century a turning point came in the affairs of the Canaanites. The invasion of the so-called "Sea peoples" had been met and halted by Ramses III on the northern border of Palestine and the Phœnician coast, perhaps near Carmel. But their scattered remnants added one more element of discord which their irresistible onward movement had assisted to produce. The Hittites were pressed back to the Euphrates. The Egyptian power, stretched to its utmost tension under Ramses III, relaxed under his successors.

New bodies of people from the west came. Five of these western tribes settled in the coast plain of southwest Palestine and formed the Philistine Pentapolis early in the twelfth century. They were few as compared with the Canaanite inhabitants, but more warlike. While they ruled the natives by their superior military skill, they accepted the civilization of the conquered. They were thoroughly Semitized by the time they came into contact with the Hebrews. It may be that their aggressive movements brought them first into war with the Phœnician cities. It was the king of Askalon, according to the statement of Justin already referred to, that conquered Sidon, whose inhabitants founded Tyre. The traditional era of Tyre began *ca.* 1197 B.C.,¹ and from about this time Sidon gives place to Tyre. The Phœnician ships, driven out of the Ægean by the Greek reaction, seek the western Mediterranean under the leadership of Tyre and a new period of glory begins for the merchant cities on the narrow coast. Already kings of Tyre are spoken of in the time of Merenptah, and that kingdom is being developed which in a century or more is to enter into friendly relations with David and his son. The word "Tyrian" is now henceforth substituted for "Sidonian" as identical with "Phœnician."

At this same turning point the movement of the Hebrews is going on which is to result in the Israelite nation. Several things are clear with respect to their relations with the Canaanites: (1) the civilization which they found in the land was one much more highly developed than their own and into the inheritance of which they entered; (2) yet it was a civilization which the original possessors were unable to carry further, and which in their hands was slowly degenerating, which needed the infusion of vigorous simple elements such as nomadic Israel could give; (3) the work of Israel was to assimilate this civilization and transform it into higher things without being harmed by its effete and baser parts; (4) the long period of Egyptian domination, now past, the confusion of the age just closing, the absence of any great power near at hand, gave Israel its opportunity to enter, conquer, and organize itself; (5) the rapid advance from

¹ Cf. Meyer, *GA.*, I, § 284.

nomadism to the organized and brilliant empire of Solomon is largely to be explained by the Canaanite framework of political and social elements into which Israel came, which was inherited and needed not to be painfully and slowly wrought out *de novo*; (6) the victory of the Mosaic faith over the Canaanite nature-worship, or rather its assimilation of the best therein, and its consequent enrichment was the second great step in the formation of the Old Testament religion. The history of the Canaanites at this point merges into the history of Israel.

IMPORTANT MOVEMENTS IN ISRAEL PRIOR TO 1000 B. C.

By IRA M. PRICE,
The University of Chicago.

The migrations of the patriarchs.—The settlement in Egypt.—The independence movement.—The religious movement.—The settlement movement.—The downgrade movement.—The prophetic movement.—The monarchical movement.

THE life of a nation as that of an individual falls into epochs. The characterization of these epochs will be a sketch of that life from its incipency to its close. This will portray in appropriate colors its elemental beginnings, its striking growths and its best fruitage. It will also give an estimate of the elements of power which are added in each new period to increase future strength and efficiency.

As a people Israel followed a zigzag pathway down through antiquity. It was also beset by unnumbered difficulties of various kinds. It led through daring and danger, through woes and foes, through knavery and slavery, through water, waste, and war into the promised land. Once here, Canaan on the right of them, on the left of them, in front of them, and among them rallied and plundered. Tempted and tortured and trodden down, Israel sighed and cried unto the Lord. Repentance and deliverance came hand in hand. But the stain was ingrained, and the scar was left. Only through the might of prophetic insight was a genuine advance assured. The sudden expansion and extension of Israel set the sun of prosperity in her zenith.

In this brief discussion there is no space, and it is unnecessary, to examine the critical analysis of the sources of information. Besides, only the most radical positions affect the main facts in the important movements in Israel prior to 1000 B.C. The gratuitous hypotheses of such writers as Stade (*Gesch.*

d. V. Israel) are their own refutation. Their arbitrary norm or test applied to the narrative of the Old Testament can never commend itself to sober, impartial historical study. The contemporaneous history is amply elaborated in the adjoining articles, and shall receive only hints here and there by this writer. While the citation of authorities on this period might easily fill one-third of each page, the space will be more profitably occupied, it is hoped, by the discussion proper.

I. *Patriarchal movement.*—

Migration and transplantation are often potent in nourishing and developing latent abilities and powers. When Abram cut loose from Ur of the Chaldees, he left behind him many commonplace circumstances above which he might never have arisen. But once weaned from home, at God's call, he went westward to a place which he

knew not of. But he was not among a strange people; they were of his own blood and tongue. From Haran he followed divine directions at the head of his band, and reached Shechem, where his zeal for Jehovah materialized into an altar (Gen. 12:7) to the true God. Faith led him thus far, and faith now expanded into sight, of a land for his own posterity. This growing faith fruited into another altar at Bethel (Gen. 12:8). Having viewed the land from this sacred spot, he passed on down to the South country. The gnawings of famine and the granaries of the Nile drove him to Egypt—probably in the period of the prosperities of the XIIth dynasty. After some time he returned with royal favors and flocks, the wiser for his experience and the richer for his future. Up through the vales and dales of the



STATUE OF GUDEA, FROM TELLO
ABOUT 2800 B. C.

Palestinian hills he led the van of his clan. On the summit of these rolling mountains, a kind of watch-tower, he pitched his tent, not far from the altar already built. Magnanimous soul! to quell the quarrel between their herdsmen, Abram set the choice of mountain and plain before his nephew Lot. Into the valley of Sodom, "like a garden of the Lord," rushed the plunger. Now to the apex of the highest point in southern Palestine, Hebron, good Abram carried his tent, and piled up by its side another altar to his God. Soon the sound of battle echoed through the mountains. A crying courier told of the raid made by the four kings of the East. From Bashan to Seir, from Kadesh to the sea, only a wild waste marked their trail. Back they turned to the rebel cities of the valley of salt. Four kings against five! Might that never makes right rushed in and crushed the insurgents and carried off goods and captives as booty. But the patriarch was a match for the Babylonian raiders. Familiar with their army tactics, he resolved on pursuit. With his own trained warriors and his confederates he sped to the north and under cover of night swooped down upon their camp. Complete defeat scattered the foe, and Abram recovered the plunder and the people of Sodom. On his return the supernal king of Salem greeted him with supreme blessings. Years rolled by and Abram feared extinction, but the promise was repolished, the future brightened. The rite of circumcision was given as the seal of the everlasting covenant of Jehovah (Gen. 17), an ever-present pledge of perpetuity and possession. Abram became Abraham, the one shall become a multitude, and doubt ripened into certainty. Thus the Chaldean (from Ur), the head of his band, acting under God's direction, was morally tried, toughened, and tempered by his contact and clash with Chaldean, Canaanite, Egyptian and Amorite. Large-hearted, true-hearted, stately, princely, generous, pious, Abraham was an ideal "father of a multitude of nations." As a final test of the fiber of his faith, God ordered him to slay Isaac on an altar. With unremitting obedience, in intention the act was done, but in fact was stayed. Faith's battle was done and the patriarch won.

Isaac's course was over a smooth sea with coast lines always in view. Few wavelets struck the keel of his vessel, and fewer test-storms of his trust are recorded. But Jacob, the heeler, was true to his name. Heir to a tissue of strong character, with a confidence born of self and a knowledge of the weakness of others, Jacob purposed to make the most of life. Hungry Esau, at the point of starvation, pawned off his birthright to the youthful pawnbroker. Masked for a blessing, Jacob deluded old Isaac and eluded the wrath of Esau.

Up over the hills of Hebron he hied him. At Bethel—sacred spot—he lay down for the night. Visions of glory wrested from him a pledge. On to Paddan Aram he fled and lighted upon the lands of one Laban. Enamored of his tawny daughters, Jacob paid the hire of the hands of two of them by fourteen years of herding. "Iron sharpens iron," Laban sharpened Jacob. His shrewdness absorbed nearly all of Laban's flocks, and to secure his gains, the "heeler" decamped with herd and house toward the south. Word ran ahead to Esau in Seir, "The 'heeler' is coming." Armed men rushed to the front but are met by a peace commission. Jacob was in anguish, in terror, and secured from a heavenly wrestler his request. He is a changed man, a new man, a brother, not a supplanter, Israel, not Jacob.

These days of trickery and trade, of labor and love, of fear and fervor, rounded up the character of the great patriarch. The insolence of his sons, the sorrows of death, and the dependence of age, mollified his harshness of spirit, and beautified his declining years.

II. *The Egyptian movement.*—Canaan was the roaming land of the shepherd-sons of Jacob. Across this isthmus the great civilizations of the East and West were tied by commercial lines of travel. Caravans crept reptile-like up through valleys, over ridges, across plains to barter their wares, and garner reserves. They trafficked in slaves, and transported them from land to land. To these dealers Joseph is sold and carried down into Egypt—the kite carrying the first small string across the chasm of Niagara, which resulted in the suspension bridge. Inflexible integrity carried him through slander and prison to a seat beside

the Pharaoh. God-endowed and God-sent he wielded his power with unswerving equity, and took long glances into the future. In years of plenty he prepared for want, storing Egypt with seven years' surplus of grain. As relentless as fate the famine came on. The annual stores gone, a cry went up from all the land. Adjoining lands felt the nibblings of hunger, and all feet turned toward the grain bins of Egypt. Among the caravans of the East appeared the original salesmen of Joseph. Quick as a flash the Premier knew them. With tenderness encased in gruffness he received, deceived, and dismissed them. In a second trip Joseph buffeted them, but the pathos of Judah broke his hard exterior, and he flashed before them as Joseph, their brother. Consternation, remorse, penitence, affection stare from the eyes of the brethren. Joseph's love and power encircled the whole tribe and drew it affectionately to the land of plenty. The Israelite caravan was met by Joseph, and under the favor of the throne-power it was allotted the fat of the land, the land of Goshen. Here under royal protection the families emerged into tribes, named after the twelve sons of Israel. Long years full of prosperity and posterity rolled on, when a "new king [or dynasty] arose who knew not Joseph," regarded not the original rights of the Hebrews. The hated Semites were seized, and put under the yoke of serfdom, probably in the XIXth dynasty. Taskmasters lashed them to their burdens, and made life bitter with hard bondage. But their rapid increase threatened the peace of the reigning king. Mortal measures were adopted to suppress the despised people. Evasion of orders, and intervention of Jehovah were a buffer to the execution of the royal edict. The most precious jewel rescued from destruction, was Moses. Found, fondled, and fostered by Pharaoh's daughter, he was reared as a king's son, and "instructed in all of the wisdom of the Egyptians." Though fully versed in the life, literature, and learning of that great people, he forgot not the God of his fathers, nor the bitter bondage of his brethren. With premature zeal—John Brown-like—he attempted single-handed to break off their shackles. Fear within and fury without made him a refugee in the wilderness. For forty years more he is learning wisdom,

but *this* time the wisdom of God through intimate communion with him. His sweet companionship with him mellowed his soul and enriched his life and built him for the future. At a given sign and call he was commissioned to return to Egypt to open the doors of freedom. Aaron was made his mouthpiece, and God his director. The limits of the sojourn were not far off, and the slaves must be freed.

The vast import of the Egyptian sojourn must be mentioned in few words. Egypt was the leading great nation of that day, in literature, art, science, and government. The future of Israel as a conservator of God's revelation and will demanded that she be fully equipped for her all-important service. In her Egyptian home she learned to know Egyptian life. In her bondage she was compelled to learn the industries, arts, and civilities of this leading nation. She was thus schooled among the first and foremost teachers of early times.

III. *The independence movement.*
—Moses and Pharaoh met face to

face. Requests were refused, and threats thrust aside. In close succession, interrupted only by calls, promises, and perfidies of the king, followed plague upon plague. Every plague-stroke cut deeper into the flesh, but only the sword of the death angel compelled concession and cut the bonds of the slaves. Pharaoh's mingled cry of distress and anger rang like a trumpet throughout the land, and Israel focalized her forces on the eastern border line. But royal grief soon found relief in swift pursuit. Hemmed in by mountain, sea, and troops, the fugitives were in dismay. But God and cloud guard rear and van, and by com-



HARPER AND CHOIR, FROM
TELLO. 3000 B. C.

mand of wind and storm the sea rolls back. The door of liberty swings open and through it rush the freedmen. At their heels rolled the wheels of Egyptian arms. But mercy's door closed against them, and the seas' waves over them. Three million souls loose, free as the air, out of the reach of the master's lash. But barbarians they were not. Servitude and oppression had stunted independence, but had not barbarized them. Even contact with Egypt's greatness, as that of servants in a palace, gave them an invaluable training in the elements of an independent people. Organization into a nation was the next step. Evidence is in favor that tribal distinctions were maintained in Egypt. In the desert each tribe was organized, encamped, and treated as a separate body. By Jethro's help the judiciary was formed, with Moses as the judge supreme under God's headship. Of course of discontents there are always enough to stir up strife. But Amalek met loyal, if not royal, arms, and was led to respect the power of the "barbarians." On by Sinai Israel marches, gaining, growing by the way. Step by step the stair was climbed; but a plateau was reached. Grumbings and rumblings called a halt. "The flesh-pots of Egypt!" Not a whiner shall see the promised land. Kadesh shall see the death of full one generation. Through all the two-score years of desert life the Egypt-enchanted grumblers passed away, and the younger generation was trained for the chosen people.

IV. *The religious movement.*—Hints at certain religious rites are found before the Exodus. Moses' education in the desert, and his instruction of his own people show forth God as Jehovah (Ex. 6:2, 3), the existent, living One. This Jehovah is the deliverer, the leader, and the instructor of Israel. Moses is his agent only. Out in the desert the peoples are rallied at Sinai. Here the chosen leader, amid the thunders of the rocky summit, communes with Jehovah, receives and delivers to Israel the divine charter of the new nation, the law. This was to be the center, the hub, the real distinction between Israel and her polytheistic neighbors. With the tabernacle as her rallying point and the law as her charter and Moses as her divinely chosen leader, Israel had the fundamentals for binding her together as a nation.

V. *The settlement movement.*—A detour from the desert brought this youthful and forceful people up to the gates of the promised land, guarded by Amorite warriors. A peaceful passage refused, Israel meets an Amorite army, only to deplete and defeat its ranks. One more desperate battle captures the east of the Jordan. The veteran nobleman, Moses, now leaves his last will and testament, takes a Pisgah-view of the lands and vanishes into the unseen. The tried hero, Joshua, takes command. The hearts and spirits of the Canaanites melt before the unconquered conquerors. Under divine orders they cross the Jordan and draw up in battle line. Strict obedience and prompt action are the conditions of conquest. Jericho falls at the blast of trumpets. Israel falls before the swords of Ai. The fateful lot unveils the offender in Achan. Severe and summary punishment crushes the incipient infraction, and Joshua soon secures the mountain passes. On to Shechem they march, where blessings and curses are read and reviewed, echoed and reëchoed from mountain to mouth, from mouth to mountain. With doubly charged zeal the warriors in the spirit of the command of Jehovah wheel about to the south. Wily Gibeon beats Joshua, but are themselves afterwards beaten as slaves to the end of their days. In defending them Joshua precipitates the Waterloo of his campaign. In rapid succession, throughout the south, fortress, city, and village fall before the reaper of death in the hands of Israel. In the far north a confederacy of petty kings amass their forces at Merom. But Joshua, by a forced march, struck them unawares, routed them, maimed their horses, burned their chariots, and ran up the standard of Israel. Thus thirty-two kings of Canaan bit the dust, and Israel was practical ruler of the land. By choice and lot the land was parcelled among the tribes, with the leaders, Judah and Ephraim, in the heart of the country. But Levites and priests received cities—forty-eight of them—distributed in all the land. As a center for religious worship, Shiloh is chosen. Now then, we have Israel in the promised land, settled by tribes, with the leaven of religion set at intervals, and the tabernacle at Shiloh. Hints at another method of conquest are found by some in Judges 1 and

2, though these may be subsequent to the entrance through the Jordan.

VI. *The downgrade movement.*—But isolated Canaanitish fortresses were tares in the wheat. At the close of one generation degeneration set in. The same language, similar customs, and continuous contact soon familiarized Israel with Canaanitish rites. The blandishments Canaan set a trap for the worshipers of Jehovah. Into the pitfall fell the victors, and into the coils of idols ran unwary Israel. Crushed almost to earth by Aramæan, Moabite, Philistine, Canaanite, Midian, and Ammon she successively cried, was delivered, reformed, deformed, and oppressed. Through a couple of centuries this despicable checkered mode of life continued. Down to the pit of despair, far below the marks of the preceding period, Israel sank and cried in dismay. Only the exigencies of a theory can construct any conceivable advances; the book of Judges does not reveal them. But God is not dead, the wails are heard, and a deliverer is found. These successive heroes, unlike as nature makes, only by God's direction and help did their mighty deeds. We find, too, an occasional prophet to keep alive the coal of consecration (Judges 4:4; 6:8; 13:6) and to point to the God of their fathers. In the early dawn, after this night of Israel's history, we meet Samuel, the seer.

VII. *The prophetic movement.*—The inspirited personality of this peer found and bound to itself young men of noble aim. So potent was his spirit that he soon gathered about him bands of youthful and useful enthusiasm and energy, and formed the nucleus of the most effective religious elements in Israel's later history. The bands of the sons of the prophets became the fountain-heads of religious influence and power, and perpetuated the spirit of their founder, Samuel, and the spirit of Jehovah, their inspirer, down to the end of prophecy.

VIII. *The monarchical movement.*—The peerless career of Samuel set Israel's ideals on a high pedestal. The corrupt beginnings of his sons were but threats of coming disaster. The amassings of Ammon, too, demanded some military movement. With a darkening future and rumors of invasion, Israel required a leader, a *king*, like their neighbors. Samuel receded from, but

Jehovah conceded to, their request, after due warning. Saul, a slightly Benjaminite, the people's choice of a man, was crowned amid the shouts of the nation. The one element of character which should control a king of Jehovah's people is *obedience to God*, prompt and unswerving. Success and security are built on this granite foundation. But Saul's pharisaic self-sufficiency and independence were incompatible with obedience. Open violation of God's commands was simply the undermining of his throne. Self-service is not God's service. Self-will is ill-will. Saul failed in the test, though twice made, and he was toppled from his royal seat. The patient prophet again sought a king, but now one of God's choosing. David, the shepherd lad, at Bethlehem was anointed and appointed successor to Saul. Years of jealousy, envy, danger, pursuit, skirmish, and battle marked the relations between Saul and David. But the final tragedy on Gilboa terminated a sad, a bad reign, doubly disastrous to king and land.

David, with God's permission, left his refuge in Philistia, climbed the Judean hills and was crowned king of Judah at Hebron. Off to the northwest within the battlements of Mahanaim, Saul's son was crowned king of Israel by General Abner. Now, we have an incipient dual kingdom. But David's kindly spirit, his politic manner, his frankness and large heart won universal confidence. By the expiration of seven years he had the hearts of all Israel. The strategic, central, and strong fortress of Jebus was stormed and taken, and David made this cluster of hills his capital under the name Jerusalem. David's religious character could not rest until ample provisions had been made for worship. The ark was transferred, interrupted by one sad fatality, to Jerusalem, and set down under a tent. The king and the people rent the air with their shouts of joy, and offered sacrifices of thanksgiving. David's superior generalship, the lack of interruption by great powers, and the comparative weakness of adjoining peoples, made rapid speed in the extension, in the pushing out of the boundaries of his kingdom. The fullest limits of the promised land are soon his own. But promotion is often dangerous. Self-strength is but weakness. David gave

way and fell a dastardly sinner before God. One sin never goes alone. Its fruitage filled his soul with bitterness and his days with woe. But the kingdom was thoroughly organized and firmly established. David also made ample provision for the perpetuity of its worship and the purity of its judiciary. Instead of building a temple, he gathered the materials, and was assured by Jehovah of his son's everlasting sonship, kingdom, and rule.

Solomon's kingship had a sincere, loyal, and faithful beginning. In a few years the temple was built and domestic alliances formed with every neighboring tribe. Solomon's inheritance was not only tied together with ties of royal making, but was more thoroughly and severely organized for the purposes of an absolute monarchy. At the same time the king's foreign affinities opened the doors of foreign commerce, and made Israel one of the peoples of the world of his day. About the year 1000 B.C., Israel was at the apex of her glory, politically, commercially, and socially, and was partially equipped for a thrifty religious growth. The body politic was maintained at high pressure, at a tensivity touching the limits of endurance. But Israel now had a monarchy, absolute, unlimited, oppressive, king-centered, with God as nominal head, but with Solomon as the human, the fallible head. Into this body, however, were taken elements which were destined to breed disease, to cause eruptions and disruptions, and to call forth the best efforts of the prophets, the moral physicians of the God of Israel.

IMPORTANT MOVEMENTS IN ISRAEL PRIOR TO THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE KINGDOM.

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The deliverance at the Red Sea.—Establishment of the theocracy.—Sojourn at Kadesh.—Conquest of the East Jordan land.—Conquest of Canaan.—Contact with the Canaanites.—The Conquest of the Kishon Valley.—Attempt to make Gideon king.—Conspiracy of Abimelech.—The Philistine oppression.—The revival under Samuel and the rise of the prophets.—The kingdom of Saul—His break with the prophets.—The choice of David.—The capital established at Jerusalem.

THIS article aims to give a brief synopsis of the events in the early history of Israel with special reference to the social, industrial, and religious development of the people.

I. *The deliverance at the Red Sea.*—No fact was more deeply rooted in the consciousness of Israel than the deliverance from Egypt. Questions as to the date, the Pharaoh of the oppression and the exodus, the route of the Israelites from Egypt and other details have given rise to endless speculation; but it has been largely speculation without exact data. The researches of the Egypt Exploration Fund have not settled these questions, though they have confined discussion within certain chronological limits and thrown some light on the nature of the exodus and the conquest of Canaan. The general agreement among scholars that Ramses II was the Pharaoh of the oppression has been confirmed by the discovery in 1885 of the site of the ancient Pithom at Tel el-Maskhutah. Not long ago it was almost unanimously agreed that Ramses' successor, Mer-en-Ptah, was the Pharaoh from whom Israel escaped. Latterly, however, the exodus has been pushed down to a later time and assigned to the reign of Si-Ptah or even to Ramses III in order to allow time for the overthrow of the Hitite power in Canaan and make room for the Israelitish invaders. Now comes the report that a newly dis-

covered inscription of Mer-en-Ptah relates that that king among other conquests in Syria and Palestine "left the people of Israel without seed." This mention of Israel is probably to be classed with the Jacob-el and Joseph-el in the list of places in Palestine conquered by Thothmes III. They show the scattered condition of the tribes. Some Israelites may never have migrated to Egypt and the conquest of Canaan as we shall see was gradual and accomplished by the tribes acting independently. We may expect to find Israelite communities in Palestine any time during the XVIIth, XVIIIth, and XIXth Egyptian dynasties.

But the importance of the Exodus to Israel is not to be measured by the attention it attracted from Egyptian annalists. Not even Moses' share was the central feature in the event as remembered by the people. Moses was the leader but not the actor in the deliverance. It was Jahweh himself who saved his people and overthrew their enemies. A strong wind drove back the sea and let the struggling band of fugitives pass, and veering around covered their pursuers with the waves. It was Jahweh fighting for his people. By that deliverance he made them a nation and sealed them for himself. It was the real birth-night of the nation. Never afterwards could Israel deny the fundamental principle of their religion. Jahweh was their God and they were Jahweh's people. Their praise was not given to Moses, but to Jahweh:

"Sing unto Jahweh, for he hath triumphed gloriously ;
The horse and his rider hath he cast into the sea."

2. *Establishment of the theocracy.*—There was a marked difference between Israel and the tribes with whom they came in contact after entering Canaan. Palestine was the camping ground for every roving band that came along. Thus its population became most heterogeneous. All sorts of nations lived together as best they could. For a time Egypt held nominal control of the country and placed governors in the principal cities. Later the Hittites ruled large portions of its territory. When Israel arrived on the scene the power of the Hittites had been broken, and there was nothing to hinder them from settling in as many of the cities of Canaan as they could

get possession of and taking their place among the heterogeneous population already there. Soon after the conquest we find that the clans of Israel possessed a bond of union which the others lacked. They were able to assimilate the mixed population and evolve an Israelite nation. This bond that united them was their religion. The call to the tribes to rally to the help of Jahweh was never unheeded. They became one people, because they belonged to one God.

The establishment of this bond of union between the tribes must be ascribed to Moses. He was the founder of Israel's religion. One account directly asserts that the name Jahweh was not known before his time (Ex. 6:2, 3). After the deliverance from Egypt Moses led the people into the mountains of the Sinaitic peninsula to the storm-clad peak where Jahweh dwelt. There he taught them of the God whom he himself had learned to know among the same rocky heights. The nature of the religious teaching of Moses must be found in those fundamental principles of Israel's religion which appear in their earliest historical records.

Moses revealed God to Israel as the *Living God*. This is what the name Jahweh signifies. Whether Moses originated the name or not matters little; he first gave it its significance. Jahweh is the god that exists, not in an absolute sense, but as one that works freely in history. The living God was Israel's God and Israel's helper. His ear was open to their cry. He went before to fight their battles. Israel's enemies were Jahweh's enemies, Israel's battles Jahweh's battles, and Israel's victories the glory of Jahweh.

Moses gave Israel a God who stood in real personal relations to the nation. When Israel ascribed their victories to Jahweh, it was no empty phrase such as was often in the mouth of an Assyrian king. The difference is in the fact that in Israel's view it was impossible for Jahweh to suffer another god to be worshiped beside him. Jahweh was a jealous God and would tolerate no divided service. Here lies a broad distinction between Israel's relation to Jahweh and that of Moab to Chemosh or Phœnicia to Baal. The relation of Israel to Jahweh was national

rather than individual till long after Moses' time. But the idea of Jahweh as Israel's helper is the germ of the Christian conception of the individual Saviour of each member of the kingdom.

Moses did not conceive of Jahweh as the God of the whole world and such teaching would have been meaningless to Israel, for they had no world-conception to underlie it. Yet the basis for absolute monotheism lies in Moses' teaching and the conception of God which he gave was abundantly able to enlarge as rapidly as world-ideas came into the consciousness of the nation.

What did Jahweh require of his people? An answer must be drawn from the Ten Commandments rather than from the ceremonial law. No part of criticism has done more to remove false conceptions of the work of Moses than the recognition that the Priests' Code does not belong to his time. Moses is the true predecessor of the prophets. The ceremonial system of Israel scarcely differed from the common Semitic type. Jeremiah understood the true nature of Moses' teaching: "I spake not to your fathers nor commanded them in the day that I brought them out of the land of Egypt concerning burnt offerings, or sacrifices; but this thing I commanded them, saying, Harken unto my voice and I will be your God and ye shall be my people." (Jer. 7:22, 23.)

Moses did vastly more, however, than simply give the people moral precepts. We might almost say, he gave them a moral God. The difference between the moral teachings of Moses and the precepts of the Egyptian priests lies in the fact that Jahweh's demands were based on his own character. Jahweh was a holy God, therefore his people must be a holy people. Israel's ground and motive to righteousness lay in the character of their God.

In these teachings we see the germ of a real theocracy. Jahweh was the living helper and king of his people. No king could exist otherwise than as the deputy of Jahweh. When the kingdom was forced upon the nation by circumstances, the prophets looked upon the king as the vice-regent of Jahweh, the true head of the nation. Further, Moses seems to have taught

that there must be no image of Jahweh. Jahweh dwelt on the mountain peak of Sinai, but his presence among the people was represented by the ark containing the law. Shiloh the true successor of Moses' sanctuary in the wilderness contained no images. And finally Jahweh had adopted Israel. He was not their natural father. There are indeed indications that Jahweh was originally worshiped by the Kenites or some other tribe dwelling in the desert of Sinai, and in any case Israel's relation to Jahweh was based on a covenant. He secured his right over them by delivering them from Egypt. That deliverance was Israel's adoption and the blood of Jahweh's covenant rested upon the people.

3. *Sojourn at Kadesh*.—The unanimous tradition of the nation points to Kadesh as the first permanent stopping place of the tribes after leaving Egypt. The ancient site has been discovered in the desert south of Canaan. Here the pastoral habits of the people, to some extent interrupted by the sojourn in Egypt, reasserted themselves and the people lived a true nomad life.

The Jahweh sanctuary was at Kadesh and there was the spring of Moses. Around it the people roved with their flocks over the broad pasture lands south of Edom.

4. *Conquest of the East Jordan land*.—While at Kadesh the tribes attempted to invade Palestine from the south, but were unsuccessful. What caused them to finally leave Kadesh seems to have been an invasion of the country of Moab and Ammon by the Amorites under Sihon. A fragment of an old song describing this invasion and the havoc wrought upon Moab is preserved in Numbers 21:27 ff. Israel took the side of their cousins against the invaders and drove them out, but instead of returning the recovered country to Moab, they settled in it themselves, removing the Kadesh sanctuary to Shittim. We would gladly know more of the condition of Israel in these new quarters east of the Jordan. That Balak, king of Moab, resented their settlement in that district we know from the Balaam prophecies. Here arose the first inclination to agricultural life and it resulted in a division among the tribes, some refusing to give up their nomad habits and remaining behind, while the majority looked longingly across the Jordan to the fer-

tile fields of Canaan. Conflict with the Moabites, narrow quarters, and the fact that at that time Canaan lay open to invasion, probably hastened their determination to cross the Jordan.

5. *Conquest of Canaan.*—We have two accounts of the conquest. One in Joshua which represents the nation of Israel as crossing the Jordan *en masse* and capturing Jericho at Ai. Having thus secured a foothold in the center, the rest of Palestine was subdued in two campaigns. One to the south in which Joshua defeated five kings of the Amorites and followed it up with a victorious march, conquering city after city until the whole south of Palestine from Kadesh-barnea to Gaza was swept bare. In the words of the writer: "He left none remaining, but banned all that breathed." A similar campaign in the north completed the work and the land thus swept bare of its inhabitants was divided among the tribes by lot.

But even in Joshua there are passages inserted from a different narrative that lead us to think that this is too sweeping a view of the conquest, and the account in Judges 1:1 b—2:5 makes our suspicion a certainty. Here we find the tribes of Judah and Simeon setting out first and with the aid of the Kenites securing a precarious footing among the inhabitants of southern Palestine; and later the house of Joseph establishing itself around Bethel.

The conquest left four centers of Israelite population; Judah in the south near Hebron; the house of Joseph in the center, dwelling in the hill country of Ephraim; Zebulun, Asher, and other tribes north of the valley of Esdraelon, and Gad with his companions left behind in the east Jordan country. Judah was almost completely isolated and as far as we know had no intercourse with the other tribes till the time of the Philistine war. The Jahweh sanctuary remained with the house of Joseph. The ark was taken from Shittim to Gilgal, thence to Bochim and finally to Shiloh.

But it is not a matter of prime importance just when or how the conquest of Canaan was accomplished. Let the little battles with the Canaanites be fought when and where they may. The significance of the conquest for Israel lay in the total change in

the habits of life that it involved. History makes us familiar with two kinds of conquest. One when a rising nation pushes out into a barbarous country and conquers, annexes, and colonizes the district. The other when rude, vigorous tribes fall upon a highly civilized but weakened people and appropriate the civilization prepared by others. The conquest of Canaan by the Israelites was an instance of the latter. The Canaanites were their superiors in the arts. A nomad in the desert lived under circumstances vastly different from those of a husbandman or trader in a town in Canaan. The shepherd is a rover. He owns nothing but what he can pick up and carry with him. If he is attacked, his safety lies in the speed with which he can gather up his possessions and flee. Content to tend his flocks and herds, with no motives to lead him to steady occupation, he is unused to toil. But if the shepherd becomes a tiller of the soil, all this is changed. He must engage in steady work, and build a permanent home; if attacked, he cannot flee, but must defend his possessions. Hence he needs strongholds and standing guards. This was the condition that faced the Israelites in Canaan. And from whom could they learn these new arts but from the Canaanites? We have seen above how the lack of organization among the dwellers in Canaan made it possible for the Israelites to settle among them. Side by side were Israelite and Canaanite towns, and even in the same villages the two nationalities were together. From these Canaanites Israel learned the arts necessary to life amid their new surroundings.

But we must not over-estimate Canaanite civilization because of its superior knowledge of the arts of trade and agriculture, which was largely due to favorable surroundings. The Canaanites lacked central authority and a religion which would enable social and moral progress to keep pace with industrial. Now that the conditions of progress were supplied by settlement in permanent homes Israel would soon leave the Canaanites far behind. And where could a better position have been found for the home of the people of Jahweh? They faced the west. Phœnicia, the most advanced nation of the world, was at their side. Behind were the ancient civilizations of Babylonia and Egypt; in front,

the prophecies of Greece and Rome. They could take the best from the old, unbound by the shackles of inherited tradition, and feel the impulse of new times coming.

6. *Contact with the Canaanites.*—We must examine a little more closely the immediate influence of this close daily intercourse with the Canaanites. The early years in Palestine was a testing time for the nation. Would Israel be able to assimilate the new ideas borrowed from the Canaanites, or would she lose her identity as a nation? Especially were their religious principles put to the test. The simple worship of the desert was not enough to meet the requirements of the new modes of life. As in the arts and sciences Israel must borrow largely from the Canaanites. She took their sanctuaries on the high places, their harvest feasts, sacrifices, and forms of worship suited to the settled life. Would Israel be able to infuse the spirit of Jahweh into those new forms?

To realize the temptation to which the Israelites were subjected we must understand something of the Canaanite worship. The Canaanites were primarily worshipers of the baalim, the local gods that lived in every tree and spring and glen in the land. Each homestead, we might almost say, possessed a little sanctuary to the local baal of the place. The god owned the land and the one who cultivated it must render him his due. The worship was intensely social and the temptation was strong to accept an invitation from the Canaanite neighbors to join in feasts to their gods. The history of the period is but a repetition of the sad refrain: Israel "forsook Jahweh and went and served the baalim." The moral test of Jahweh's religion was fully as severe. The new political, social, and trade relations brought new temptations as well as the grosser allurements from the debasing practices connected with the worship of the Ashtaroth. We can easily believe there was much debasing of the Jahweh religion and some syncretism between Jahweh and Baal. But in the end the religion of Jahweh triumphed. The people struggled up out of their dark period and Jahweh worship superseded that of baalim. Canaanite forms were given new meaning. The new nation was socially, morally, and religiously

true to the Israelite ideals. The Book of the Covenant represents Israel's religion as it emerged from this testing time. The Canaanite elements have been assimilated and the religion is that taught by Moses simply adapted to an agricultural life in a settled community.

7. *The conquest of the Kishon Valley.*—The first great event to call forth the national spirit after the settlement in Canaan was the conflict with Sisera. The early conquests did not include the valley of Esdraelon. The Canaanite still occupied the most fertile portion of the whole land. But the conflict was only a question of time.

We have two accounts of the battle—the prose account in Judges 4, and the poetic account in Judges 5. The poem is the older and contains a clearer description of the contest. Sisera leads the Canaanite kings. The tribes muster at the head of the valley; the battle begins near Tanaach and the defeated Canaanites retreat down the valley and a flood in the Kishon helps to sweep them away. The prose account presents difficulties by the introduction of Jabin, king of Hazor, and representing the mustering of Israel as taking place at Kadesh.

The importance of the battle is however independent of details. Our interest lies in the spirit of Deborah's song, the oldest piece of Israel's literature that we possess. The battle is Jahweh's, the tribes rally to the support of Jahweh. Those who fail to take part are bitterly cursed. The song breathes the true spirit of the religion of Moses. The victory was an example of what the tribes could accomplish by united effort, and its effect was not lost.

8. *Attempt to make Gideon king.*—The next step in the growth of the kingdom was more local but perhaps no less important in its influence.

Not only to Israel but also to many another desert tribe was Palestine a land of promise. Many before Israel had invaded the land and settled in its fertile fields, and others were on their heels. Must Israel yield in turn to new invaders? The account of Gideon and the Midianites shows the condition of an agricultural people with inadequate means of defense against these

roving bands of robbers. Their incursions were accurately timed. Appearing suddenly when the grain was ripe, they plundered the fields, drove off the cattle, and left the poor husbandman to mourn the destruction of all his hopes.

As with most of these accounts we have several versions of the story. One including the major part of Judges, chs. 6-7, lays emphasis on the religious experience of Gideon in the campaign, and the other, Judges 8:4, ff., which appears to be the older, makes the original incentive for Gideon's pursuit of the Midianites a desire for blood revenge, because of the murder of his kinsman. The spirit of private war, which was characteristic of those times, breathes in this account. When the captured princes are brought before Gideon, he wishes to teach his son the sacred duty of blood revenge and calls upon the young man to "up and slay them," but the youth shrinks from the fearful duty and the father takes it upon himself.

Encouraged by their success, Gideon's fellow tribesmen urge him to be their king, but the ideals of the Mosaic theocracy are still strong in the hero. He reminds them that Jahweh is their king. Of the spoils of the Midianites Gideon builds a Jahweh sanctuary at Ophrah and worships his Lord with mighty zeal. Such men as Gideon and also Jephthah, whom we have not space to describe, were noble champions of Jahweh in their day; and an understanding of the state of society in which justice was only secured by the rudimentary methods of blood revenge and the ban, and in which even human sacrifice had its propitiatory significance, will remove all need of apologizing for their actions.

9. *The conspiracy of Abimelech.*—Abimelech was the son of Gideon by a Canaanite mother. The story of his conspiracy in Judges 9 is one of the oldest accounts in the book and gives a vivid picture of the struggles between the Israelites and the Canaanites. Abimelech represented to his mother's people at Sechem that a kingdom was to be established and the only choice lay between him and the other sons of Gideon. Naturally they fall in with his proposals and assist him with money from their sanctuary. With this help the conspirator raises a band of kindred spirits and slays all his brethren—a neces-

sary precaution in those days of blood revenge. The Shechemites, however, soon tire of Abimelech's rule, but are only rid of him after terrible tumults in which they realize the truth of Jotham's prophecy, "Let fire come out from Abimelech and devour the men of Shechem." This experience greatly dampened the zeal of the people for a king and we hear no more of such popular demands till the time of Samuel.

10. *The Philistine oppression.*—As we approach the time of Samuel, tradition becomes much more full and we can only briefly indicate the course of events. The nomad invasions had been too intermittent to force the tribes into permanent union. But in the Philistines the tribes met a foe of a different nature. The origin of the Philistines is obscure, but it seems probable that they were a part of those migrations from the coast of the Mediterranean that disturbed Egypt during the latter part of the XIXth dynasty. Tradition says they came from Caphtor, supposed to be Crete, and quite likely they entered Palestine later than the Israelites. While the tribes of Israel were establishing themselves among the hills and repulsing the nomad invasions from the east, the Philistines were forming a strong federation in the coast plain on the southwest. The two nations soon came into conflict and it was long doubtful which was to win final supremacy in Palestine.

At first the advantage rested with the Philistines. The stories of Samson are evidence of constant border warfare between the two peoples. And the tribes of Dan (Judges 13) and Simeon (Chron. 4:39-42) were completely crowded out of their possessions. Finally the Philistines defeated the Israelites at Aphek, captured the ark, killed the sons of Eli, and pressed on till they captured and destroyed Shiloh, securing possession of the whole central portion of Palestine. Israel was now completely in the hands of the Philistines and threatened with a bondage that recalled their sojourn in Egypt. For long years the people lay prostrate under the Philistine yoke.

11. *The revival under Samuel and the rise of the prophets.*—The Philistine oppression brought the people back to Jahweh. There was a great revival of Jahweh religion. In this religious

awakening arose the prophets, men who devoted themselves especially to the service of Jahweh. They formed a sort of sect or community, and may be compared to the Rechabites or Nazarites. We first find them going about the country in bands, (Sam. 10:5, etc.); but soon they appear in settled communities and probably were to be found in nearly all the Israelite towns. Their distinguishing feature was that they were men filled with the spirit of Jahweh. They fought the wars of Jahweh and to their zeal was largely due the victories over the Philistines and the rise of the kingdom of David. The leader of the prophets was Samuel, who had grown up at the Shiloh sanctuary and was fully in sympathy with the religion of Moses.

12. *The kingdom of Saul.*—Samuel and the prophets realized that the only hope of success against the Philistines was in a permanent government with a king at their head. The oldest account of the founding of the kingdom (1 Sam. 9, 10:1-16 and 11:) shows plainly that Samuel was the real mover in choosing a king, though undoubtedly he spoke some earnest words to the people as to the nature of the move they were taking, as is recorded in the later account.

The problem before Samuel was to find a man for king who would be able to lead the people to victory and still be thoroughly in sympathy with the prophets at the recent revival. Saul appeared to be the man. Samuel succeeded in bringing him over to the prophetic party and securing his election as king. Saul's conversion was a great gain for the prophets. The popular surprise and enthusiasm is expressed in the proverb, "Is Saul also among the prophets?" The victories that followed seemed to justify the wisdom of the choice.

13. *The break between Saul and the prophetic party.*—But Saul did not fulfil the hopes of the prophets. He led the people to victory but was not careful to obey Jahweh. The occasion of the final break between the prophets and the king was the war with the Amalekites. Their country lay south of Palestine. With the exception of the Philistines, they were Israel's worst enemies (1 Sam. 14:48). The prophets pronounced the ban against these people and urged Saul to lead them to war. The ban

was a custom somewhat similar to the taboo among the South Sea Islanders. Whatever was banned must be totally destroyed. Saul consented to the war, but after the victory broke the ban and made it a campaign for plunder. This was a heinous sin and could not fail to call down the wrath of Jahweh upon the nation. The prophets at once broke with Saul, announced to him that Jahweh had rejected him, and began to look about for a man to take his place.

14. *The choice of David.*—The break with the prophets cost Saul his kingdom. Without their support he was unable to win further victories over the Philistines. The people said Jahweh had departed from Saul. The thoughts of the prophets soon turned toward David as the suitable man to take Saul's place, and their preference soon became publicly known. Saul's last years were darkened by jealous opposition to David and his career ended in suicide after the defeat by the Philistines at Gilboah. David proved to be the prophets' ideal king. Whatever his faults, he remained true to the religion of Jahweh.

15. *The establishment of the capital at Jerusalem.*—The Philistine war had brought the tribe of Judah into prominence and the first years of David's reign were over this tribe alone. When the nation was reunited, the question of the capital arose. Hebron was too far south and Shiloh in the north lay in ruins. David chose Jerusalem, a strong fortress situated near the boundary line between the two divisions of the people. This he made the capital of the united people. It was equally necessary, but more difficult to make it the religious center of the nation. A sanctuary in those days depended on its associations for its sanctity. The most sacred associations of the prophets were connected with the ruined Shiloh, and nothing was more natural than that David should seek to restore, as far as possible the Shiloh sanctuary at Jerusalem. This he succeeded in doing, and with the coming of Shiloh to Judah a new period for Israel set in. The formative time was over. Israel had become a nation. Their hold on Palestine was assured. David thoroughly subdued the Philistines and defeated his enemies on all sides.

The final establishment of the monarchy was even more significant for the nation's progress than the change from a pastoral to an agricultural life, attendant on their settlement in Canaan. We see the nation growing into settled habits and forms of justice. Industries of all kinds will feel a new impulse. The nation is ready to burst forth into a bloom period of prosperity under Solomon.

THE CHIEF LITERARY PRODUCTIONS IN ISRAEL BEFORE THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM.

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The view of Kittel—Grounds for rejecting it: (1) the widespread use of writing; (2) recorded history.—Detailed consideration of (1) Proverbs; (2) The Psalmody of David; (3) The Law of Moses, with justification for the rejection of the view of the dominant modern school of critics.

THE dominant school of critics affirms that Israel did not enter the ranks of the literary nations until the time of Solomon. According to the liberal estimate of Kittel, before the schism there had been committed to writing, the song of Deborah, the decalogue and book of the covenant, the narrative which serves as the foundation for the last five chapters of the book of Judges, and perhaps the blessing of Moses and a few histories of national heroes like Gideon and Abimelech. The same writer also believes that official chronicles of the kings were kept from the reign of David onward, and that in Solomon's time old songs were collected under the title of the Wars of the Lord and the Book of Jashar. He thinks also that David doubtless took an active part in the beginnings of religious poetry in Israel. But Kittel is conspicuous for his generous allowance of literature to the period before the division. We cannot claim as much as he does without meeting with serious dissent. The distinguished leader of the modern school, for example, dates the blessing of Jacob in the ninth century; admits the existence of the Ten Commandments in the early period, but doubts whether they were written on tables of stone; and ascribes the book of the Covenant, in its final form, also to the ninth century, making it a growth out of decisions of the priests. The chief literary productions before the division of the kingdom may accordingly be described as a written

song or two, principally in celebration of heroic achievements, a few prose narratives of similar import, the beginning of the royal annals, and some scraps of legislation gradually increasing in amount.

With these meager results we are dissatisfied. And at the outset for two general reasons: 1. The widespread use of writing. The Babylonians for long ages, and the Assyrians for at least four hundred years, before this time had been writing the history of their times and committing legal and ritualistic matters to documents. In Egypt, Thothmes and Ramses had set an example to the Israelites in their midst of recording the events of war, and Pentaur, of celebrating victory in song. The Hebrews were face to face with writing for all matters worthy of record, small and great. And it is from the time of the sojourn in Egypt that writing is first mentioned as practiced by the Hebrews. According to the records Moses, either himself or through a scribe, wrote (Ex. 17:14; 24:4; Num. 33:2; etc.); Joshua and other leading men of his time wrote (Josh. 8:32; 18:9; 24:26); later Samuel, also, and David wrote (1 Sam. 10:25; 2 Sam. 11:14). The Hebrews conquered Canaan and, according to the teaching of the dominant school, imbibed the culture of the Canaanites. Yet it was customary for the rulers of petty Canaanite states and cities, whether native princes or foreign officials, to write or have the assistance of a scribe. The Sabeans of Southern Arabia used writing. Moabites, who had neither the wealth nor the great history, nor the great ritual of the Hebrews, wrote records, as Mesha's monument of the ninth century attests. Thus the Hebrews, from the days of their great progenitor down through the centuries of their tribal existence and afterwards as a nation, were in constant contact with people who wrote. Yet we are to believe that during these long years, and despite the stimulus of an eventful history, the Hebrews were practically without literature. The Hebrew authors of the later period claim to use old documents. Assyrian scribes constantly do the same thing and are believed. Why should we not believe biblical writers when they refer to the chronicles of Solomon or the book o.

Gad the seer, or a document of Moses? 2. The theory of the dominant school can only be carried through by rejecting the recorded history. This is commonly done under cover of the declaration that the Hebrew Scriptures are "tendency" writings. They are tendency writings only in so far as they are intended to unfold the religious teaching of history. This purpose is avowed by biblical writers (*e. g.*, Rom. 15:4). But there is no evidence that a single recorded event was manufactured or a single historical fact exploited. In notable contrast to the literature of contemporary peoples, the Hebrew records state the naked truth whether it be to the honor or dishonor of the nation. Documents of neighboring nations, contemporary with the events and indelibly written on brick or stone, are extant from the moment of the division of the kingdom, and they have established the trustworthiness of the Hebrew records. There usually is a difference between the two accounts in the point of view, and occasionally the details are contradictory; but, as Schrader has stated and as every investigator knows, "the historical narrative of the Bible is as a whole confirmed." The main facts of the history are attested back to the very beginning of the two kingdoms, when, in the fifth year of Rehoboam, Shishak invaded the land. For the age before the exodus the background of Babylonian and Egyptian history in the book of Genesis is also established as a true picture of the time. Under these circumstances the Hebrew records for the intervening period, from the descent into Egypt until the division of the kingdom, deserve at least respect. Now it is to the recorded history that the Graf-Wellhausen theory is unable to adjust itself. Graf, for example, started out with affirming the historical character of the events recorded in Leviticus and Numbers; but when he decided that the legislation of Leviticus originated in the exile, he was obliged to declare the narrative out of which it springs to be untrue, a fabrication of a later age.

The dominant school of critics are unable to adjust their theory to the general culture of the times; to the character of the Hebrew records which is established wherever it can be

tested; and, as will presently be seen, to the great national traditions. These are general considerations adverse to the Wellhausen theory. We now turn to certain particulars.

I. PROVERBS.

There are two sections of the book of Proverbs which are specifically ascribed to Solomon in the text itself, chapters 11-22:16, and 25:1 *sq.* The former is a collection of two-line maxims, entitled simply "Proverbs of Solomon;" the second bears the caption "Proverbs of Solomon which the men of Hezekiah copied out" or transferred. The sole authorship of these proverbs is not expressly ascribed to Solomon. The title may mean that or it may describe the proverbs as a collection of maxims partly composed and partly culled by Solomon. Whatever interpretation be put upon the titles, however, they ascribe to Solomon a literary activity and an interest in gnomic sayings, and affirm the existence of these maxims in Solomon's day.

Now what evidence exists either for or against the truth of the titles? 1. There is no difficulty in the way of the titles on the score of language. Pure Hebrew is used throughout. Foreign orthography and forms, such as characterize some of the later books of Hebrew Scripture, are absent. The language of these sections accords fully with the ascription of the maxims to Solomon. 2. Nor does any difficulty arise from the character of the contents of these sections. The lack of a polemic against idolatry has indeed been cited as evidence of a late date. The war against idolatry was hotly and unceasingly waged by the prophets during the period of the two kingdoms; but even in the section which the men of Hezekiah copied out, there is no reference to this intense struggle. Reuss interprets this fact to mean that the proverbs were gathered in post-exilic times, when idolatry had ceased to be a burning question. On the other hand this fact is equally favorable to the title. High places were tolerated during the century that preceded the erection of the temple, and idolatry was apparently not making serious inroads on the religion of Israel. It had done so

during the times of the Judges; and in the latter part of Solomon's reign, when his heart was not right with the Lord, he permitted his foreign wives to erect altars to their own gods. At that period of his life he was the last man to rebuke idolatry. In his earlier days he had no occasion to expressly do so. The proverbs present simply the right religious attitude. They recognize only Jehovah God. If the absence of an express polemic against idolatry proves anything it affords evidence that these proverbs were collected either before the division of the kingdom and the encroachments of idolatry, or else after the exile when idolatry had lost its attractiveness. 3. Pithy sayings were in great favor from ancient times. All schools of criticism admit that there was activity in this line before the division of the kingdom. Jotham's parable and Samson's riddle belong to this class. A proverb is quoted in 1 Sam. 24:13 as even then ancient. By the time of Solomon four men had acquired special note for wise remarks (1 Kings, 4:30). 4. The long and prosperous reign of Solomon afforded leisure for literary pursuits and for the collection of choice sayings. And to this period and to this king early and continuous tradition traces the collection and composition of proverbs. In the first book of Kings it is recorded that Solomon spake three thousand proverbs and that people came from all parts to hear his wisdom (4:32, 34; *cf.* 10:1); and the author of this book of Kings drew his facts from documents which he believed to be contemporary with the events (11:4; *cf.* 2 Chron. 9:29). The men of Hezekiah, who, there is no reason to doubt, were employed by Hezekiah himself, ascribed to Solomon a collection of proverbs from which they made extracts. See also Eccles. 47:13-17. 5. Now proverbs are not ascribed indiscriminately to Solomon. The maxims of others are known and credited. Samson, Jotham, Etham receive acknowledgment. Even in the collection known as the book of Proverbs the words of Agur and sayings of the wise are distinguished from those of Solomon. It is only fair to infer that there was reason for ascribing the two sections to Solomon.

II. PSALMODY OF DAVID.

A group of psalms was admitted by both Ewald and Hitzig to be Davidic (Pss. 3, 4, 7, 8, 11, 19^a). Ewald admitted in addition Pss. 2, 20, 21, 24, 29, 32, 110; and Hitzig 9, 10, 12, 13, 15, 16, 17, 19^b. The Davidic authorship of these psalms is, however, denied by the latest critics. They have not discovered anything in them which Ewald and Hitzig did not see, but the evidence of literary activity which these psalms afford, the spirituality which pervades them, their reference to the law, and their recognition of but one place for Jehovah's worship are features which are incompatible with the Graf-Wellhausen theory. On ultimate analysis, this incompatibility is the sole difficulty with these psalms. To save the theory, the Davidic authorship is denied.

But tradition, not a late tradition, but ancient native tradition almost contemporary with David, both directly and indirectly, ascribes the composition of psalms to him. His fondness for music is recorded in the historical books; he played skilfully on the harp (1 Sam. 16:18-23; 2 Sam. 6:5), and he arranged the praise for the sanctuary (1 Chron. 6:31; 16:7; 41, 42; 25:1 *sq.*). He composed a lament over Saul and Jonathan, which was preserved in the ancient book of Jashar, and over Abner (2 Sam. 1:17-27; 3:33,34), a song of deliverances, and last words (22:1-51; 23:1-7). His musical activity is referred to by various authorities; Amos (6:5), Ezra (3:10), Nehemiah (12:24, 36, 45, 46), the son of Sirach (Eccles. 47:8, 9). Such work on the part of David accorded with the times. Religious poetry and penitential psalms had for ages been common among the Babylonians. Among the Hebrews, the Song of Deborah and the Wars of the Lord are admitted by the most radical of critics, like Stade, to be ancient. The composition of poetry belonged, therefore to the earliest period of Hebrew history. David as a psalmist was a product of forces long operative. The times of David, moreover, were calculated to call forth devotional literature; for the revival and reformatory work of Samuel had been in progress for a generation, the spirituality of religion had been

urgently insisted upon, interest in the sanctuary had been reawakened, and preparations were being made for the erection of a temple on a scale of great magnificence.

III. THE LAW OF MOSES.

The question at issue is fundamentally whether the social conditions presupposed by the legislation ascribed to Moses existed in his day or did not arise until many centuries later. This is the fundamental question. High ideals and profound political insight may not have been appreciated by the people whom Moses led. Political disturbances may have interfered with the regular course of law. The original institutions may have been rendered in part inoperative. These are possibilities, but they do not affect the question at issue. If the conditions presupposed by the legislation existed in the age of Moses, the unvarying and hoary tradition that he is the author cannot be impugned. The school of criticism at present dominant tells us that the conditions arose later and claims to be able to point out the time after the settlement in Canaan when they had not yet come into existence and the particular moment in history when they emerged. Our present purpose is to show historically that these conditions existed in the days of Moses, that there are traces of the essential features of the legislation in the times of Joshua and the Judges and during the undivided monarchy, and that the historical deviations from it are of one kind and explained by political necessity.

By way of preface it may be remarked that the question of the composition of the Hexateuch has no essential bearing on the present discussion. The dominant school is convinced that the four documents J, E, D, P, can be traced from Genesis to Joshua inclusive. At that point they cease (Kuenen). The dates assigned to them severally are determined by the critics in each instance according to the particular theory of the development of the legislation which is advocated at the moment.

The historical standpoint from which to view the question at issue is a triple one, namely: (1) The sojourn and servitude of the Hebrew people in Egypt and their deliverance was a tradition

imbedded in Hebrew thought. It is found in the earliest documents no matter what school of criticism pronounces on their date. The Jehovist records the descent of Jacob and his family into Egypt, their subsequent increase and enslavement, and their exodus in a body; and the narrative known as E has an equally definite account of the same events. Psalmists pitch their songs to its key and from it prophets draw their lessons. The standing type of God's redemptive power and love is Israel's deliverance of old from Egypt. Nor is the tradition peculiar to one tribe, as though but a portion of the Hebrew folk had endured Egyptian slavery; it is not exclusively Judæan, but it is Ephraimite as well. It is the record both of the Judæan Jehovist and the Ephraimite Elohist. The notable prophets of both kingdoms voice it; Isaiah among the hills of Judah and Hosea in the kingdom of Samaria (Isa. 11:16; Hos. 2:15, etc.). The tradition is the common property of all Israel, a landmark in their history. (2) Sinai was the scene of notable events. The fifth chapter of Judges is allowed by the dominant school to be a song contemporary with the events it describes. As early then, as the days of the prophetess Deborah, when the song was composed, the Israelites were filled with the thought that their forefathers had witnessed mighty manifestations of Jehovah at Sinai "when the mountains flowed down at the presence of the Lord, even you Sinai at the presence of the Lord, the God of Israel." (3) It was the firm conviction of the Israelites that Moses had been their leader, their lawgiver, and the organizer of their national life at this crisis in their history. This tradition appears in the documents which are the earliest according to all schools of criticism (J and E). It is also referred to by Samuel the prophet (1 Sam. 12:6, 8). It finds expression in the earliest writing prophets, both in the northern and the southern kingdom (Hos. 12:13, Mlic. 6:4). It is a national imbedded tradition. Moses was a social, political, and religious organizer.

What legislation would naturally be enacted by a lawgiver under such circumstances. It must be abreast of the religious conceptions of the better spirits of the nation, abreast of the current sense of right and justice which prevailed in that age,

abreast of the palpable needs of the people concerned. In other words, whatever portion of the legislation was immediately enacted by Jehovah and whatever was revealed to Moses, as to later prophets, and whatever was of man's devising, it must all accord with the past history, present environment, and evident needs of the people.

The religious worship of that age was ceremonial. The ancestors of the Hebrew people in Babylonia and Mesopotamia, the family of Abraham in the mountains of Canaan, and the Israelite multitude in Egypt had been acquainted with ritualistic worship. Altars were erected, sacrifices classified. Men exhibited the greatness of God by the grandeur of his earthly temple and the splendor of ceremony. An ark was customary in the temples of Assyria, Babylonia, and Egypt. In Egypt, further, the people were accustomed to a priestly class divided into several orders of different dignity. Annual pilgrimage to the temple, participated in even by those residing at a remote distance, was a feature of the Egyptian religion. This was the spectacle which had been before the eyes of the Hebrews for generations and which had shaped their conceptions of worthy worship. At Sinai they were fresh from Egypt. It is natural, therefore, to find in a prospectus of religious worship drawn up in Moses' day, an ark and, as the people were journeying, a tabernacle instead of a temple. On the theory of development, which is the theory urged by the dominant school, it is certain that a form of religion would be devised which would adequately meet the conceptions of the age and exhibit Jehovah with suitable honor in the sight of Israelites and foreign peoples. It is not surprising, therefore, that the main features of the legislation of the so-called priestly document are characteristics of the religious worship common to many nations in Moses' day. The cult of the age is reflected in the laws regarding tabernacle and priesthood and sacrifice.

The book of Deuteronomy contains a great address ostensibly delivered by Moses at Shittim. Thirty and eight years had elapsed since the body of the old legislation was given. The new generation, on the eve of advancing to the conquest of

Canaan, is summoned to hear the law of the nation, to be instructed in the application of its principles to the new circumstances which confronted the people, to have their apprehension of its spirituality quickened, and then intelligently to renew the covenant made with their fathers. The address was delivered in three installments, committed to writing, and solemnly ratified as a covenant. (1) The history of Israel since the covenant was made with the preceding generation at Horeb is reviewed as a motive for obedience to Jehovah's laws. (2) Statutes are rehearsed, with emphasis upon their spirituality and urgent insistence upon their observance. (3) Curses and blessings are announced. The characteristic features of this address are the insistence upon one altar for the nation and an adjustment of the laws in minor details to the anticipated settled life in Canaan and to the enlargement of Israel's borders brought about by the occupation of the country east of the Jordan. The fundamental features are the unity of the altar and the accommodation of the laws to the needs of people remote from the altar. The address is chiefly the thought of Moses. He quotes the words of the Lord, but his speech is his own. It is the wisdom of a tried statesman. He had experienced the jealousy of the princes and had discovered traces of tribal self-seeking, and he feels the need of a unifying element in the state. He had seen the attraction exerted by the licentious idolatry of the heathen upon the susceptible Israelites, and he dwells upon the need of exterminating the Canaanites, rooting out idolatry, and cherishing one sanctuary which shall outshine the local shrines of the idolaters. The address was intended to counteract the tendency to lapse into idolatry by preventing the people from worshiping at the numerous local sanctuaries of the Canaanites. It was intended to render the worship of Jehovah a greater spectacle and of greater pomp than the ritual of the Canaanitish idols by uniting all the people and drawing all their wealth to one sanctuary. It was intended to give strength to the communal feeling and bind the nation together.

There is no doubt that the legislation which bears the name of Moses accords with the spirit and the needs of his time.

With this great fact, the minor features harmonize. The language is free from late forms. It smacks also of the desert. The use of the term "the priests, the Levites" and reference to the tribe of Levi as priestly in a popular and untechnical address at a time when the Levitical priests were sharply distinguished from the lower order of Levites are quite common at all periods of the history (2 Chron. 23:18; 30:27; Ezek. 43:19; 44:15; and 1 Kings 12:31; Mal. 2:1-4; 3:3).

Upon what ground then does the modern dominant school base its opposition to Mosaic authorship? The fundamental reason alleged is that according to the history numerous altars existed and were considered legitimate for a considerable period before the erection of Solomon's temple. Is this acknowledged fact of history inconsistent with the enactment of laws by Moses regarding the unity of the altar? Our clear conviction is, that it was not. For first, sacrifices at a distance from the sanctuary were legal under specified circumstances. By law, they might be offered at any place where Jehovah manifested himself. Gideon and Manoah and others acted legally by sacrificing then and there on the appearance of the angel of Jehovah. And secondly, the numerous altars before the erection of Solomon's temple were abnormal. They were permitted because the central sanctuary at Shiloh had been forsaken by God. They were allowed from this time until Jehovah chose Zion. The covenant, of which the national cult was the legal expression, was known to be broken. If the people were to worship Jehovah at all, they must fall back on the primitive law. And thirdly, altars to Jehovah were recognized as legitimate among the northern Israelites. Political reasons made it impossible for the pious inhabitants of the north to make pilgrimages in a body to Jerusalem or even, except on rare occasions, to visit the central sanctuary individually, for worship and sacrifice. If godly Israelites in the north who regretted the schism and abominated the calves of Bethel and Dan and loathed the yet more outrageous Baal cult, worshiped Jehovah at all, it must be at their own private altars. And this right was recognized by the prophets of Jehovah (Elijah, Hosea, etc.).

The abeyance of the Mosaic legislation in all Israel from the time when Jehovah forsook Shiloh until he chose Zion, and later among the Israelites of the north, is satisfactorily explained. And this is all that requires explanation. Otherwise the history reflects the Sinaitic legislation.

With these broad historical considerations we rest the argument. It would be instructive to search the early national history of the Hebrews for traces of Mosaic legislation; but the pleasant task is forbidden by the authorized limits of this article and is rendered unnecessary by the investigations conducted by Dr. Green and published by him in "Moses and the Prophets" and "Hebrew Feasts." Dr. Green, however, omitted the book of Joshua from his survey in order to avoid the necessity of prolonged argument. But a glance into this book is appropriate, especially at those passages in it which the dominant school pronounces to be the earliest and ascribes to J or E. It appears that (1) The priesthood began with Aaron and descended to his son: Aaron's death and the induction of his son Eleazar into the priest's office in his stead are mentioned in Deut. 10:6. This statement according to Wellhausen is not a reminiscence of P (Proleg³, 388). According to Dillmann the passage has been introduced by the reviser from the Elohist. One of the oldest documents which the critics admit thus testifies to the priesthood of Aaron and after him of his son. The last verse in the book of Joshua is decided by Dillmann to belong to B (=E) and by Wellhausen to JE, again the oldest document. It states that "Eleazar the son of Aaron died; and they buried him in the hill of Phinehas his son, which was given him in the hill country of Ephraim." This record goes far to show that the Mosaic legislation was inaugurated and continued to exist for two generations at least, until the death of Joshua. And Phinehas was on hand to continue the priestly succession. This testimony from the oldest document allowed by the critics is confirmed by the knowledge of the burial-place. The grave, moreover, was in the hill country of Ephraim, and not in a city assigned to the sons of Aaron for residence. The towns designated to give lodging and glebe to the priests were in the south in Ben-

jamin, Judah, and Simeon. But Phinehas, the grandson of Aaron, was given a piece of property near Shiloh. This fact is no mean evidence that his presence was needed in that vicinity and is a strong indication that he was the chief priest whose attendance at the tabernacle was known to be a frequent necessity. In later years Eli found it desirable to even live in Shiloh, and the high priests eventually took up their residence in Jerusalem when the temple was erected. (2) The unity of the altar was recognized in the days of Joshua. The document JE, records that Gibeonites were condemned by the princes in the days of Joshua to render service at the house of the Lord and the altar of the Lord. This shows unity of worship. The existence of one altar for all Israel comes out also in another event of the time of Joshua. The erection of an altar by the returning soldiers of the tribes east of Jordan appeared to the Israelites on the west of the river to indicate a desire for separation. This implies that one altar existed for the entire nation. But their suspicions were allayed when word was brought back that the altar beside the Jordan was not designed for offerings, but was intended to serve as a witness that the eastern tribes may bring burnt offerings, sacrifices, and peace offerings before the Lord (Josh. 22 :11, 12, 26, 27; according to Dillmann B, *i. e.*, E).

THE CHIEF LITERARY PRODUCTIONS IN ISRAEL BEFORE THE DIVISION OF THE KINGDOM.¹

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Fragments from the period of the march through the wilderness and the settling in Canaan.—Literary products from the period of the Judges.—Literary products from the time of David and Solomon.

1. *Fragments from the period of the march through the wilderness and the settling in Canaan.*—Although the true beginning of the historical literature of Israel is to be put, at the earliest, in the ninth century before Christ, fragments are to be found in the books of the Old Testament which arose centuries earlier. These fragments are the folk-songs and stories which were handed down orally from the time that Israel was a nomadic people, before the art of writing was common with others than the leaders. If one is inclined to question this last statement he has but to recall the disdain which many Bedouin tribes today affect toward the ability to write and read, to fancy a feeling of aversion for this art on the part of the masses at that early time.

It is a question whether one in a search after the old pieces of literature is justified in going back to times before the wandering in the wilderness and the settling in Canaan. The question is not whether later Israel knew how to relate with accuracy anything from those days, but whether there exist literary remains from these early times which have been handed down practically intact, or which can be restored to their original form. In other words, we are not concerned about Israelitish traditions about the past history, but about the actually intact or nearly intact writings that have come down from early times. Such material would naturally consist of poetic snatches. To

¹ Translated and condensed from Wildeboer's *Die Litteratur des Alten Testaments*.

these, however, must be added the original decalogue, for this very likely originated with Moses, and probably may be restored from the forms in which we have it (Ex. 20:1-17; Deut. 5:6-18).

In the present stage of scientific investigation it cannot be an occasion of wonder to anyone that many answer the question that has been raised in the negative, while others regard the probability of showing a great age for a few fragments as doubtful. Our attitude is nearest that of the latter class, for we with others are of the opinion that the ten commandments in a shorter form really date from the time of the wanderings. This shorter form consisted originally of ten words which later writers expanded and to which they affixed their own ideas. The process of enlargement was gradual. From the two variant readings of the decalogue it seems probable that both writers transcribed from oral traditions of the original table which had been lost. Of these two the Exodus-version is the oldest, its redaction being in the eighth century before Christ. Yet even it bears traces of later hands in the reason assigned for the Sabbath commandment, and in the presence of Deuteronomic expressions. The author of Deuteronomy evidently had the two separate documents of J and E before him, though the majority of his successors had the compiled work. It was more than two centuries after Deuteronomy was published, and after the P code (*c.* 433 B.C.) had been formulated that the author of our Pentateuch lived (*c.* 400 B.C.) and combined all these writings (J, *c.* ninth century, E, *c.* eighth century, Deut., and P, *c.* 443) into the form in which we have it.

The claim for Mosaic authorship of these ten words has strongly in its favor the unity of the tradition on this point, which, while it does not prove that Moses brought the ten words from Sinai to his people, nevertheless on the whole lends credibility to the account.

In this same period of the wanderings through the wilderness and the conquest of Canaan doubtless belong the Mosaic words which were uttered at the rising up and the resting of the ark (Num. 10:35, 36); the song-fragments concerning the bor-

ders of Moab and Ammon (Num. 21:14*b*, 15); the song of the well (vss. 17*b*, 18), and the song of the fall of Heshbon (vss. 27*b*–30), although Meyer and Stade would assign it to some time in the Omri dynasty when Northern Israel was contending with Moab. The song on the passage of the Red Sea (Ex. 15:1–18) was composed in Canaan verses 13, 14 and 17 presupposing a settlement in Canaan, while verse 17 also presupposes the sanctuary of later days. It can be, however, a wider expansion of true Mosaic words as they are preserved for us in verse 21. Critics, however, differ as to the Mosaic kernel in this passage.

The remaining poetical portions of the Pentateuch were all composed in Canaan. In some cases it may be possible to discover a germ from the time of Moses. The song and blessing of Moses (Deut. 32, 33), the blessing of Jacob (Gen. 49:3–27), and the Balaam utterances, preserved by J in Num. 24, and by E in Num. 23, while they certainly contain old material are not to be treated here.

2. *Literary products from the period of the Judges.*—From the heroic age of Israelitish folk lore one can *a priori* scarcely look for other than poetic productions. The stories of this so-called period of the Judges, the duration of which on the basis of the Old Testament record itself must be reckoned as 200 or 300 years, we know from accounts the earliest statement of which does not date further back than the ninth century B.C.

Yet the accounts of the tribal heroes take their origin in this period and preserve for us a history of those days in their references to contemporaneous events and in allusions to the prevailing conditions. In the foreground as an historical monument of great worth must be mentioned the song of Deborah (Judges 5). From a literary point of view it is of the highest value although on exegetical and critical grounds this poem cannot be assigned to Deborah (Budde, who regards vs. 7*b* as a gloss, to the contrary notwithstanding). It is lyric and epic in character and is the only one of many songs that doubtless existed in those times which has come down to us. In connection with the historical song of Judges 5 we are able with a great degree of

probability to trace back a parable to the time of the Judges. The fable of Jotham (Judges 9:8-15) wherein the trees of the forest desire a king, must, particularly on account of its contents, be placed in the days of the kingdom, or at least in the early times when Israel was united under the rule of a king. [The whole ninth chapter of Judges belongs to the oldest remnants of historiography.] There is nothing to indicate that Jotham himself invented this fable. Apart from a war song and a parable, there may be placed in this period, with great probability, some utterances or proverbs which are contained in Gen. 49:3-27. The name of this poem, the blessings of Jacob, does not correspond throughout with its contents. In the full signification of the word the name applies only to the words spoken to Judah and Joseph (vss. 8-12 and 22-26), while Simeon and Levi were even cursed (vss. 45-7). A more appropriate name for this poem would be the testament of Jacob. In its present form the whole dates from the monarchy and probably from sometime after the reign of Solomon, though several of the statements in this section must be dated from the time of the Judges. Dillmann assigns it all to the period of the Judges. To be sure Cornill has called attention to the fact that the blessing as a whole can scarcely be older than the monarchy of David who first united the tribes into a whole, but the uncertainty which prevails as to the unity of Israel before the monarchy would seem to weaken his position. Kuenen from verse 10 thinks that the utterances concerning Judah (9-12) can scarcely have been written before David, moreover, that the mention of Joseph as "crowned among his brethren" points to a time after a king had come forth from his midst, *i. e.*, to the founding of the Ephraimitic kingdom.

The greatest importance for establishing a date attaches to the circumstance that Judah and Joseph are so exceptionally blessed. This indicates dominion on the part of the house of Joseph and the reign of Judah under the Davidic dynasty. The reference to Joseph as "crowned among his brethren," verse 23, which probably points to the incursion of the Syrians from Damascus, and other allusions which might be adduced indicate

a time after the division of the kingdom. And finally in this connection it must be mentioned that the blessing of Moses (Deut. 33) is dependent on our poem.

3. *Literary products from the time of David and Solomon.*—A strictly historical investigation cannot indeed ascribe to the century of David and Solomon anything like the literary life which from the traditional point of view is customarily ascribed to it. Nevertheless in the history of the literature of Israel this period remains extremely important. The new order of things, the changed conditions in consequence of the introduction of the monarchy did not indeed evoke straightway such a revolution as later generations imagined. However the great meaning of these new times later writers have well grasped and expressed in their idealization.

Under David Israel is becoming a strong and settled state, one of the first conditions of literary development. Through successfully conducted wars prosperity is established and self-confidence is aroused. Later, under Solomon, commerce has its rise; relationships are established with foreign nations which widened the circle of vision; man begins to look around and ask in what relation he stood to these foreign peoples; ethnological and genealogical traditions were collected and compared and thus were prepared the old accounts.

Only a very few pieces can be assigned to David or Solomon with any certainty. The psalms of David cannot be pointed out definitely. This is our position, as over against the traditional view which on account of the seeming avowal of the superscriptions attributes seventy-three psalms to David. If anyone desires to hold fast to the authenticity and the explanation of לְדָוִד as meaning composed by David three ways are open to him:

(a) Some understand that David's poems were noted down by himself, and even from the beginning supplied with a superscription (Keil). But one is aware of the fact that in the historical books of the Old Testament mention is made merely of an oral tradition of these Davidic poems and that historical poems are indeed contained in the song-books. On the contrary,

the preëxilic history shows nothing of a liturgical collection. Moreover such Semitic students as Noeldeke and Ahlwardt have declared that these superscriptions carry no weight of authority with them as it was common practice in order to get a new poem into circulation to give it an old name.

(*b*) It might be supposed that the post-exilic compiler of the different groups of psalms combined in our Psalter would have made an examination. But apart from the fact that this is a mere hypothesis without foundation there would be every reason to be suspicious of the historico-critical methods of such an examination.

(*c*) A third possibility is that a Davidic collection had existed, so-called because in it stood songs attributed to David (rightly or wrongly) and that when these songs were scattered in the five books of psalms which we now possess, each poem received this superscription. This view has the greatest probability. And if one cannot state definitely that this or that psalm, on the ground of its superscription, is of David, yet it can be affirmed that among the seventy-three bearing the superscription לְדָוִד some either wholly or in part originated with him.

It may be remarked, however, that לְדָוִד, properly speaking, does not mean more than that some sort of relation existed between David and the collection. The term is very comprehensive in character and on this account is perhaps best translated by the word "Davidic." It then, like so many other superscriptions, might refer to form, music or the diction of the piece.

We cannot agree with Cheyne in thinking that the oldest reference to David in this connection (Am. 6: 5, 6) as singer and harpist, necessitates our thinking of his compositions as simply secular songs, but rather that he was not ranked primarily as a liturgical poet. The whole question of determining the Davidic element in the Psalter is extremely difficult. It may be that form and contents must be considered together so that the original Davidic collection, the most of which is in Pss. 3-41, would be so-called as much on account of its form as because Davidic expressions and the larger part of his poems are therein con-

tained. Cheyne has truly said that the tracing up of Davidic psalms as Ewald has done, who thinks that he has discovered fourteen such, does not rest on sound critical principles. Let one be satisfied with our meager result and bear in mind that in giving up the assumed Davidic origin we do not lose the precious songs themselves.

The exception that is often made of Ps. 18, on the ground that it already exists in 2 Sam. 22, must be disregarded. Not only does the position of these words make it very probable that they have crept in here from a psalm-book, but the contents of the song is not appropriate in this connection. On the same grounds the last words of David, 2 Sam. 23:1-7, on account of their position cannot be ascribed to him.

There is reason, however, to ascribe to David the beautiful song of the bow, or the lament for Saul and Jonathan, 2 Sam. 1:19-27, as well as that over Abner, 2 Sam. 3:33*b*-34*a*. From these we may learn not only of David's poetic ability, but we may also catch a glimpse of his noble heart. Cornill goes so far as to say that there is not the shadow of a reason for denying the authenticity of the song of the bow.

The much mutilated text argues for a great antiquity and the contents confirm this view. The representation of the event is lifelike and realistic. The author speaks of persons and locality so definitely as to give the impression that he stands near to the events. The latter of these two pieces, the lament over the chief captain of Saul, may very well have originated from one who acted so magnanimously toward that persecuting monarch. Only an extreme reaction against former confusion of idealization and actual history can detect any insincerity in this.

The mistake has been made of conjecturing that because these two songs lack the religious element, David could not have composed any religious poems (Cornill, *Einl.*² p. 214). On the other hand it would be very improbable that this true, fervid and poetically gifted worshiper of Jehovah would have never poured out his heart in religious songs.

If one wishes to rightly understand Solomon and his meaning for the history of his people he must carefully differentiate

between the idealization of the later historian who looked back upon the riches and wisdom of the monarch with eyes almost blinded to all else, and the opinion of his contemporaries which one can make out between the lines in the books of the Bible.

The author of the Book of Kings wrote about 600 B.C., when the political situation of foreign oppression afforded such glaring contrast to the times of David and Solomon. He looked back with a feeling of longing to that period of splendor. Nor was he peculiar in this particular, men of such importance as Isaiah and Micah were expecting a second David to restore Israel and re-introduce an era of prosperity. The remembrance of Solomon's reign and power coupled with his wisdom lived on while the dark side of his reign was buried in forgetfulness. Evidently the author of Kings belonged to those who idealized Solomon's reign. Nevertheless, with the characteristic fidelity of Oriental historians he has not intentionally obscured other accounts. Solomon first held the throne securely after a fratricide (1 Kings 1:2).

1 Kings 11 informs us of his idolatry, and between the lines we read all too clearly that greatness and might counted for more with David's son than did the welfare of his subjects. We know that the condition of the realm internally was a bad one, for immediately after Solomon's death occurred the irremediable division into two kingdoms.

On account of this idealization of later writers we must attach more significance to the historical accounts of the part played by Solomon in the development of the literature than to the opinion of later Jewish scholars who have attributed to him poems and books which had their origin centuries later. 1 Kings 4:29-34 speaks of Solomon as the author of 3000 proverbs and 1005 songs concerning trees, beasts, birds, creeping things and fishes. Certainly the author of Kings, who wrote about 600 B.C., could not have had our Book of Proverbs before him, for it contains barely 541 *maschals*, more than 100 of which are duplicates. Moreover, with the exception of chapter 30 of Proverbs the character of these proverbs is not at all similar to that of which

the author of Kings speaks. In fact it is improbable that Solomon composed even that part of Proverbs which a special superscription ascribes to him, namely, chaps. 10:1-22:16, and chaps. 25-29. The words in many cases are not those of a king; often it is the people who speak. Moreover, monogamy which is everywhere taken for granted in Proverbs would hardly harmonize with the times of Solomon. Solomon's wisdom was of a practical nature. To be sure he was talented, but there is a considerable difference between the wisdom which the historical accounts represent Solomon as possessing and that which later Jewish scribes, in assigning Proverbs to him, affirm that he possessed. When the character of the Hebrew wisdom underwent a transformation in the Grecian period and took on more of philosophy in the Greek sense of the word, the contents of the book of Ecclesiastes was attributed to him. Likewise poetical pieces such as the song of Solomon, which hitherto had been thought to be composed against Solomon rather than by him, together with certain Psalms, for example, 72 and 127, came to be regarded as products of his muse. If it is not possible to make out with certainty what poem or proverb originated with this wise king at least one authentic utterance of his very probably has come down to us, namely, that with which he dedicated the temple (1 Kings 8:12, 13). Cheyne's uncertainty on this point is unnecessary. The piece very probably comes from the eleventh or tenth century B. C.

Other pieces than these that have been mentioned cannot be assigned with sufficient certitude to the times of David and Solomon. Surely such monuments of the literary life of that age are not to be looked for in Chronicles which was written about 250 B.C., for while these books, rightly interpreted, are very important as a source of history, they have throughout the coloring of the times in which they were written.

The song of Hannah (1 Sam. 2:1-10) which some might naturally assign to the times between the Judges and the Monarchy on account of its poetic structure is in tone and spirit Deuteronomic. Kuenen's position in regarding this as pre-exilic as over against Cheyne's assignment of it to post-exilic times

appears to us more probable. The beautiful parable of Nathan (2 Sam. 12:1-4) although occurring in a valuable old historical record, is not on that account to be considered as now being in the form in which it was spoken by him.

No consideration of this subject would be complete that did not call attention to the great significance which the development of prophecy in this period must have had for the literature. The treatment of this, however, hardly belongs here, for its influence really first disclosed itself later on.

CHARACTERISTICS OF ISRAELITISH POLITICAL LIFE

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Periods in the political history of Israel: (1) Nomadic, (2) That of the Judges, (3) That of the Kingdom, (4) That of the Monarchy.

THE forms of political organization which bound together the Israelites underwent such fundamental changes from the days of Abraham to the division of the kingdom that it is necessary to consider each epoch independently. Although they merge into each other, four periods are distinguishable.

The first may be designated as the nomadic. It extends from the earliest dawn of Israelitish history to the settlement in Canaan. In addition to that which comes from the familiar biblical narrative much light is shed upon this period by the study of the organization of the peoples who are still in the same stage of civilization—of these, the best example is the modern Bedouin.

The stories of the patriarchs give suggestive pictures of the gradual growth of a nation from a household consisting of a father, his wife, children, and servants. When the sons of the family took to themselves wives in the nomadic period, instead of separating to set up an independent home they remained with their parents, and thus the individual household grew into what was called "the father's house." This complex family, closely related by blood, throughout Israelitish history constituted the political unit. As the descendants of the sons of the first generation multiplied, each son found himself in time at the head of a father's house. In this most natural manner the original father's house grew into a *mishpâhah*, clan, or family, as the Hebrew word is translated in the English version. The one merged into the other by such gradual stages that the father's house is some-

times confused with the clan. The tribe in turn was composed of several clans bound together by common bonds.

From a later narrative (Joshua 7:14-18) the inference may be drawn that when the Israelites went up to the conquest of Canaan the three divisions of families, clans, and tribes were clearly defined. While these classifications indicate the broad outlines of the simple political organization which obtained among the Hebrew before they settled in Canaan, it is doubtful whether they were ever fully realized in actual experience. In the Orient, and especially among nomads, political organization is fortuitous rather than according to any well developed system.

The bond which united and held together these families and groups of families was the tradition of descent from a common ancestor. It found expression not only in the traditions concerning the patriarchs but also in the name which they bore, "children of (Benê) Israel." Similarly, their kinsmen were known as the children of Edom, Ammon, and Moab. The modern Arabian tribes have kindred traditions of their origin and these are commonly accepted as the uniting bond. As a matter of fact the traditions among the Bedouins are often of very recent origin, and the real genesis of the tribe is far different from the one pictured.

In early Israelitish history there are several suggestive examples of the various ways in which tribes arose. A band of fugitives gathered about the exiled Jephthah (Judges 11:3), forming a nucleus which would have naturally grown into a tribe had not the needs of his kinsman in Gilead led to his recall. Likewise about the outlaw David there gradually grew up a small tribe composed of the most varied elements, foreign as well as Judean. The traditions of a common ancestor, whether in every case wholly historical or not, were nevertheless powerful forces holding the clans and tribes together. Common custom and religious cult were perhaps even more effective in cementing the union.

Aliens from other tribes were frequently received. If they were strong and powerful, they were gladly welcomed on accepting the customs and religion of the tribe. If they were weak,

they were at first reduced to bondage. Slaves, however, in time were allowed to intermarry with members of the tribe and thereby were regularly adopted. An example of the facility with which the Israelites absorbed foreign elements is found in the assimilation of the Calebites, Jerähmeelites, and Kenites living in southern Canaan by the tribe of Judah during the period following the crossing of the Jordan.

Although the clan or tribe admitted aliens even during the nomadic period, it assimilated them so completely that it remained virtually a close corporation. Each one of its members was pledged to give his life if need be to defend its interests, and it in turn stood back of its individual members to protect them from every foe.

At the head of each father's house or family, and probably also of each clan, was the elder who corresponded to the sheikh of a modern Bedouin tribe. As both terms indicate, age was originally and ever regarded as one of the essential qualifications. Ordinarily he was chosen from a certain branch of that family which enjoyed the reputation of standing in the closest blood relationship to the ancestor from whom all claimed descent. Preëminence measured in the terms of wealth, influence, and personal ability was also requisite.

His power, like his election, was dependent upon the common consent of the family or clan. When this was wanting his decisions were void. His duties were to represent his clan on all public occasions, to lead them in time of war, to guard their security in time of peace, and to decide the political and judicial questions which were referred to him.

Subjects of tribal interest were considered by a council composed of these elders. By analogy it may be postulated that when occasion required each tribe was represented by its chief elder, although the biblical narrative contains no distinct references to such officers.

In many of its general characteristics this type of political organization might be designated as democratic. The end of its existence is the protection and welfare of the community, and each member has a voice or else is represented in the government.

It is an organization, however, in which the independence of the individual is sadly subject to the will of the majority, since his interest and welfare are entirely bound up with those of the tribe. The dictates of custom also are tyrannical, making almost impossible any independent initiative by the individual. The very looseness of the organization often renders it inefficient. It belongs to the lower stages of civilization and must be supplanted or supplemented, as it was in the case of the Hebrews, by something higher before a people can play an important rôle.

At the same time it must be admitted that its very looseness made it especially adaptable to people in the pastoral stage. It certainly sufficed for the needs of the patriarchal age. In the light of the narratives of the sojourn in Egypt, its weakness was demonstrated when it came into contact with the higher political organization of the Nile valley, for the nomadic Hebrews fell an easy prey to Egyptian oppression. Its flexibility, however, made it possible in a time of need to delegate almost unlimited power to the one capable of ruling. This fact enabled Moses to become chief elder or sheikh of sheikhs of the Israelitish families in Egypt, and, not only to lead them forth to freedom, but to unite and impress upon them the stamp of his mighty personality.

During the second period, which is commonly known as that of the Judges, the facility with which the original tribal organization developed into something better adapted to the new environment, is further illustrated.

When the Israelites on entering Canaan passed over from the nomadic to the agricultural stage, each individual was completely occupied in making a home for himself. Different members of the same tribe were often found living far apart, separated in many cases by the possessions still retained by the ancient inhabitants (*cf.* Judges 1:19, 21, 27-36). The communal life which was possible only among a pastoral people necessarily ceased and, as a result, the individual enjoyed more freedom and came into greater prominence. As they intermarried and entered into close alliance with many of the peoples residing in the land (Judges 1:12-16; 9:1-5), the tribal bond was further

relaxed, although the old family organization was retained and the tribes were still carefully distinguished.

When the Hebrews became agriculturists, the town and city became important political units. Even during the period of the Judges we find reference to city elders. The little town of Succoth, for example, had seventy-seven such elders (Judges 8:14). The fact is significant, for it is indicative of an important change in the political organization of the Israelites.

At first the population of each town belonged to the same tribe, and in most cases to the same clan; but as the town grew, different clans were brought together into new relations. In time members of different tribes dwelt side by side in the larger towns and united in the government of this new community which was bound together by common interests rather than ancestry.

The elders of a town were undoubtedly also elders of families and clans — in fact this was, in most cases, the chief qualification for election. Nevertheless, loyalty to the town gradually took the place of the exclusive loyalty to the tribe. In the town of Shechem, Canaanites and Israelites were found living side by side (Judges 9). They had so far assimilated that they shared a common temple, where they worshiped El- or Baal-berith, "God of the Covenant." When members of different clans, and even non-Hebrews, came together amicably in the same community, the foundations were laid for union under a king; for this close contact gradually broke down the jealousy between tribes and paved the way for a federation of all Israel.

There is no evidence that there was any political organization binding all the tribes together during the period of the Judges. Instead, each man "did what was right in his own eyes." When a foreign intruder overran the territory of certain tribes they suffered helplessly until some champion arose who, rallying his kinsmen to arms, led them out against the foe. If he came back victorious, he was hailed as a deliverer and recognized as chief of the tribe or tribes to whom he had thus brought relief. His relations to those who acknowledged his authority was similar to that of an elder to his family or a sheikh to his

ribe. If the danger was great and the deliverer powerful and able, his authority, although voluntarily delegated by the people, was almost unlimited, since no one dared to resist him. Inasmuch as his power and ability was generally recognized, questions of dispute between families and clans would inevitably be referred to him for decision. This custom probably explains the origin of the rather misleading term "judge," which was applied by later writers to these military dictators. "Saviour" or "deliverer" (*cf.* Judges 3:5) describes their character and functions more exactly. In the light of the old narrative in Judges, it is evident that the rule of no one of them extended over all Israel, as might be inferred from certain generalizations from the late editor of the Book of Judges. Instead, it was limited to a tribe, or, at the most, two or three tribes. Thus the authority of Ehud and Shamgar was recognized in the south, that of Barak and Tola in northern Israel and Jephthah and Jair among certain of the Israelites, living on the east side of the Jordan.

In most cases the loose political organization, which such a deliverer was able to establish, dissolved at his death. Its influence, however, continued to be felt. By a concrete object-lesson the advantages to be gained by union were indelibly impressed upon the memory of the race, and were not forgotten when they were in desperation forced to seek some relief from the grinding oppression of foreign masters.

Even during the chaotic period of the Judges, the simple transition from the judgeship to the kingship was made by certain tribes of central Israel. Gideon, a chieftain of the family of the Abiezerites of the tribe of Manasseh, succeeded in routing a band of those desert robbers, the Midianites, who had become the oppressors of northern Israel. Thereupon the Hebrews of central Israel asked him not only to rule over them as their judge but added, "both thou and thy son, and thy son's son also" (Judges 8:22). The words of refusal which are attributed to Gideon were belied by his subsequent action, for he proceeded at once to establish his authority by setting up a royal shrine at Ophrah his home and the future capital of his little kingdom. One of his sons, Abimelech, did actually succeed his father,

although his tyranny and crimes soon wrecked this incipient Hebrew state.

Thus by natural and simple stages, under the influence of new environment and needs, the elder of a family became a deliverer or judge; then when his authority became hereditary, we find the idea of a king introduced among the Hebrews.

The inauguration of the third period, that of the kingdom, might have been indefinitely delayed had not the Philistines forced upon the Israelites the alternative of complete subjugation or union. The only type of political organization with which that age and stage of civilization was cognizant was the kingship. Consequently, Samuel, the Ephraimite, showed himself a true patriot as well as seer when he anointed Saul (1 Sam. 10), and sent him forth with the suggestive admonition, "Do for thee as thy hand shall find." Like the judges before him, the young Benjaminite proved his ability to lead men before the people called him to be their king. Perhaps the most remarkable and significant feature of this act is that nearly all the tribes of central and southern Canaan seem to have united in the call.

Saul's authority and duties did not differ materially from that of the deliverers of the period of the Judges. His first obligation was to win his kingdom by throwing off the odious Philistine yoke. Since this proved the task of a lifetime, his court was of necessity entirely military. The ideas of the patriarchal age still largely prevailed. His capital was his former home in Gibeah, where he lived as simply as many of his subjects, surrounded by his household servants and kinsmen. His officers were military and belonged to his immediate family. His commander-in-chief, Abner, was his uncle, and his son Jonathan seems to have stood next in rank.

When the king held court it was not in a palace, since he had none, but under a tamarisk tree at Ramah (1 Sam. 22:6). On such occasions he probably gave a hearing to the cases which were referred to him as the chief ruler in the land, and with his officers decided the questions of state.

Reference is made to the tribal elders (1 Sam. 30:26), but there is no evidence that they were consulted on subjects of

national importance. The more prominent among them were probably personally identified with Saul's army and court.

The obligations of the people to their king were in turn equally simple. Saul lived on his own estate, and the voluntary gifts which he, like a modern Bedouin sheikh, received from his followers, sufficed for his modest needs. The one clearly defined duty of his subjects, therefore, was to follow their king to battle. Even this duty would be enforced more by the sense of common danger than by any organized system.

When the reign of Saul came to a sad end at Gilboa, and the love and pride of the Judeans led them to turn to their favorite champion, David, the formal transfer of their loyalty was made by "the men of Judah" in what appears to have been a popular assembly (2 Sam. 2:4). Later, however, when Abner entered into negotiations with a view to turning over the northern kingdom to David, we read that "Abner had communication with the elders of Israel" (2 Sam. 3:17). The reference indicates that the authority of the tribal elders was still recognized and deferred to when the new power which centered in the throne was invalidated; but from this time on it seems to have been practically ignored.

After David became king of all Israel, the development of the political organization progressed very rapidly. At the head of the army was David's faithful general, Joab. It was officered by the thirty-seven warriors who had won renown in his earlier wars (2 Sam. 23:8-39). The permanent nucleus of the army was the six hundred hired mercenaries, Philistines for the most part, many of whom had followed David during his life as an outlaw, and who constituted a most stable support for the throne.

The needs of the growing court and kingdom led to the establishment of certain civil offices, as those of royal scribe or chancellor, recorder and head of the levy.

As the Hebrew kingdom developed by virtue of its foreign conquests into an empire, and began to come into closer relations with the nations about, the period of the kingdom merged into that of the monarchy. The transition commenced during the

latter days of David's reign and culminated during that of Solomon. Although the change was so gradual that it was scarcely appreciated, the original Israelitish conception of a king, which had in turn grown out of that of a judge and tribal elder, was completely rejected, and the entirely different idea of an Oriental monarch took its place. According to the one, the king was the servant of his subjects, while according to the other, the king regarded his subjects as his slaves.

The prestige which he had inherited from his father enabled Solomon, with the aid of his army, to rule as an absolute monarch. That there might be none to oppose him, all his enemies were removed and a new nobility, dependent upon the throne, was established in their place. The numbers and expense of his court assumed enormous proportions. To support this, and to carry out his building projects, purposely disregarding the old tribal boundaries, he divided the territory of Israel into twelve districts. Over each of these was placed a royal officer, whose duty it was to collect the taxes and raise the levy. The unsuccessful revolt of Jeroboam and the subsequent division of the Hebrew empire were an expression by the freedom-loving Israelites of their hatred of Solomon's policy of Orientalism.

Within two or three centuries the Israelites passed through almost every stage of political government known to the ancient Semitic world. No sudden revolutions overturned the old and inaugurated the new, but beginning with the simple patriarchal régime, each grew out of the other. A certain looseness of organization, which seems to be native to the Orient, characterized each stage. Custom supplied the place of regular laws. Public offices were limited to the fewest possible number, and there was little civil organization.

In each period the feeling of tribal independence, and of intolerance toward all political restraint were so strong that every step toward a closer union and a greater centralization of power was taken only when external conditions made it an absolute necessity.

Throughout Hebrew history the religious faith and cult constituted the strongest uniting bond. Since state and religion

were never divided, national patriotism and zeal for Jehovah were always associated. The elder, judge or king was the high priest of the tribe or nation. The king was also regarded as the earthly civil representative of Jehovah. Thus in the old Hebrew state were found the roots of the idea of the theocracy, which in time developed into the broader idea of the kingdom of God, in which the common bond, uniting all mankind, is the desire to do the will of the divine King.

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THE AMERICAN INSTITUTE OF SACRED LITERATURE.

To many of the readers of the BIBLICAL WORLD no introduction to the plan and purpose of the BIBLE STUDENTS' READING GUILD is necessary. For the many others, however, who have not yet become members of this organization it seems wise at this time, in announcing the work of the coming year to state some general facts concerning the plan. The Guild was organized October 1, 1894, in answer to what seemed an important demand. Its purpose was to introduce to the general public a line of reading in connection with the Bible which would help them not only to gain an intelligent view of the Bible, but to satisfy themselves as to the views upon it held by the best standard writers. Because of the lack of time to devote to distinctly religious reading, and the necessity therefore for a brief course upon a definite subject, the plan of a four years' course covering four great biblical topics was adopted. These four subjects are The Life of Christ, the Founding of the Christian Church, the Foreshadowings of the Christ (Old Testament History and Prophecy), and Old Testament Literature.

It has been the aim of the Institute in the selection of books to bring the course within the smallest financial compass consistent with the best material, and to make it sufficiently brief to require not more than a half hour a day for nine months of the year (October to June).

The student is not left to master the contents of the required books for himself, but is given upon enrollment a direction sheet giving general suggestions for the reading of the year. At the beginning of each month a postal bulletin assigning the special reading for the following month and giving detailed instructions concerning it, is sent to each student.

Nothing in the nature of reports from the student is *required*, yet such reports are frequently sent voluntarily and are always welcomed. The student is at liberty to correspond freely with the Institute concerning any phase of his work. In this connection it will be of interest to repeat what has before been published concerning the variety of persons to whom this course of reading has appealed. Nothing shows more distinctly the widespread interest in an intelligent knowledge of the Bible and the necessity of a literature upon this subject as accessible and readable as in other lines of thought. Much literature of this sort is available and needs only to be recommended to be read.

The occupation of the members in order of numbers in the membership of 1894-5 were as follows: Housewives, ministers, teachers, clerks, merchants,

missionaries, stenographers, mechanics, physicians, college professors, secretaries, bookkeepers, librarians, factory superintendents, lawyers, editors, dress-makers, manufacturers, students, hospital nurse, chemist, artist.

The subject for the work of October 1896 to June 1897 will be The Fore-shadowings of the Christ. This will constitute a study of the Old Testament History and Prophecy from the special point of view of the growth of the Messianic idea and ideal. No book has been found distinctly and satisfactorily treating this subject in a manner sufficiently untechnical to be readable by the general public. The books will therefore cover the historical and prophetic material from a general standpoint, leaving the distinctly messianic idea of each period to be discussed in a monthly article in the *BIBLICAL WORLD*.

The books selected are as follows :

1. Syllabus of Scripture material giving under a topical outline the biblical passages to be read (Harper), 25 c.
2. The Doctrine of the Prophets (Kirkpatrick), \$1.50.
3. Blake's How to Read The Prophets. Part II, 90 c.; part III, \$1.25; part V, \$1.25.
- *4. The *BIBLICAL WORLD*, July 1896-7, \$1.50.
5. Map and Chart Pamphlet, 10 c.

The books may be purchased through the Institute at the prices named above. These are special prices to the members of the Guild, but students are at full liberty to obtain the books where it is most convenient for them.

To ministers one of the problems of the times is how he may keep his people in touch with current religious thought in order that he may always give them his own best thought and can rely upon their appreciation of it. Can this be done through the pulpit alone? May it not be more easily and effectively done by means of some such expedient as this reading course? A Chapter of the Guild in any congregation will raise the tone of the whole congregation by making a nucleus of well informed hearers who will intelligently discuss these matters among themselves and with the pastor.

Since the last issue of this periodical the following Summer Schools have been added to our list: The Midland Chautauqua Assembly at Des Moines, Ia.; the Winfield (Kansas) Assembly, where Dr. H. L. Willett will offer instruction; the National Sunday School Teachers' Seminary at the South-western Baptist University, Jackson, Tenn., where Dr. Theodore G. Soares will represent the Institute work; and the Summer School of Theology at Saratoga Springs, N. Y., where Rev. Harlan Creelman of Yale will conduct classes in Hebrew and the English Bible. This brings the list to fifteen different schools, an increase over any previous year. It is possible that still others may be arranged for.

* The June number of the *BIBLICAL WORLD*, the special archaeological number is given free to all new subscribers beginning with July 1896.

BIBLICAL STUDY DURING THE SUMMER QUARTER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO.

By CLYDE W. VOTAW,
The University of Chicago.

Special opportunity for Bible study will be offered during next July, August, and September at The University of Chicago. It is an established order at The University that not only shall the work of the summer quarter be maintained at the same standard of thoroughness and variety as in other portions of the year, but that there shall be in addition several courses by biblical professors of national and international reputation. Last summer, besides the large number of courses given by the regular university staff of instructors, there were courses in Biblical Apologetics, New Testament Textual Criticism, and the Philosophy of Religion by Professor A. B. Bruce, D.D., of Glasgow, Scotland; Professor C. R. Gregory, Ph.D., LL.D., of Leipzig, Germany, and Dr. A. M. Fairbairn, of Oxford, England. The wisdom, usefulness, and popularity of this plan were made evident. The number of students enrolled in the biblical courses during the last summer quarter was actually larger than the number so enrolled for the preceding spring quarter, a portion of the customary school year.

Arrangements of like attractiveness have been made for the coming summer quarter. Two eminent biblical professors from Europe will give lectures at The University during the first term of the quarter, July 1st to August 11th, upon Old and New Testament themes.

George Adam Smith, D.D., Professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Exegesis in the Free Church College, Glasgow, Scotland, is one of Great Britain's ablest Old Testament scholars, and the author of several books of the highest value for biblical study, among them the two volumes on Isaiah and the two volumes on the Minor Prophets in the *Expositor's Bible* series, and the monumental work on the *Historical Geography of the Holy Land*. Professor Smith will give eight lectures upon the subject of *Hebrew Poetry*.

Joseph Agar Beet, D.D., Professor of Systematic Theology in the Wesleyan Theological College at Richmond, England, is widely known as the author of a valuable set of commentaries for students of the English Bible on the greater Pauline Epistles, and of other works of theological and religious import, the latest of which are *Through Christ to God* and *The New Life in Christ*. Professor Beet will give four lectures upon *The Historic Grounds of the Christian Faith*.

Two American scholars also, from other institutions, will give regular courses of instruction at The University during the first term of the summer quarter.

Professor Rush Rhees, of Newton Theological Institution, Newton, Mass., will give two courses in New Testament subjects. One upon *Special Phases of the Life of Jesus*, treating of the attitude of Jesus toward the Old Testament religion, toward Pharisaism, and toward the Messianic hope; his use of miracles and parables; and his self-consciousness. The other upon *The Gospel of John*, comprising introduction, analysis, and interpretation of the text upon the basis of modern English versions. During the term Professor Rhees will give, in addition, a series of five public lectures upon *The Psalms of the Pharisees*.

George T. Ladd, D.D., Professor of Moral Philosophy and Metaphysics at Yale University, will give a course of lectures upon *The Philosophy of Religion*, discussing the principal topics suggested by the phenomena of religion, from the speculative points of view, such as the proofs for the being of God, the divine predicates and relations to the world, nature and the supernatural, the religious nature of man, revelation, inspiration, miracle, immortality, and the "Kingdom of God" or the ideal social community.

The lectures and courses of instruction which have now been described are additional to the full and regular list of courses offered during the summer quarter by the regular staff of university instructors in the biblical departments. The programme of these courses comprises work in the Semitic and Greek languages, Old and New Testament history and history contemporary with these, archæology, biblical literature, biblical interpretation, and biblical theology. Only a brief conspectus of this programme need be given here. Full and detailed announcements can be secured on application to The University of Chicago.

The department of SEMITIC LANGUAGES AND LITERATURES presents the following list of courses:

Head Professor W. R. Harper will give a double minor¹ course in *The Book of Job*, comprising a critical translation, a study of the language of the book, its place in literature, and the characteristics of Hebrew poetry. During the first term he will give a minor course in *Hebrew Syntax* and, with the assistance of Dr. Crandall, a major course in *Beginning Hebrew*. During the second term, a minor course in *Hebrew Etymology* and a minor course in *Arabic Geography, History and Commentary*, consisting of the study of selections from these three classes of Arabic literature.

Associate Professor I. M. Price will be present during the second term.

¹A "minor" course at The University consists of one hour a day of class-room instruction, four or five days in the week, during one term—six weeks. A "double minor" consists of the same amount of daily instruction extended through the entire quarter—twelve weeks. A "major" course consists of two hours' daily instruction for one term, and a "double major" the same for the entire quarter.

He will give a minor course in *Modern Discoveries and the Old Testament*, presenting the results of recent discoveries in the Orient which aid in the understanding of the Old Testament. Also, a minor course on *The Psalter* (English version used), treating of its formation and characteristics, the personal, historical and national elements it contains, and its religious characteristics and use. Also, with the assistance of Dr. Breasted, a major course in *Beginning Hebrew*.

Associate Professor G. S. Goodspeed will be present during the first term. He will give a minor course in *The History of Israel*, presenting the modern view of the history of Israel and giving exercises in the rapid reading of historical German. Also, a minor course in *Oriental Antiquity under Assyrian Domination*, which embraces the study of the history of Western Asia under the great Assyrian conquerors from Shalmaneser II to Ashurbanipal.

Dr. C. E. Crandall will be present during the first term. He will give a minor course in *Hebrew Sight Reading in Deuteronomy* and will assist Head Professor Harper with the major course in *Beginning Hebrew*.

Dr. J. H. Breasted will give a double minor course in *Elementary Egyptian*. Also, during the first term, a minor course in *The History of Egypt*, and a minor course in *The Arabic Language*. During the second term, a minor course in *Historical Hebrew*, a critical study and translation of the Books of Samuel and a minor course in *The Arabian Nights*, sight reading; also, he will assist Associate Professor Price with the major course in *Beginning Hebrew*.

Dr. G. R. Berry will give a double minor course in *The Assyrian Language*. Also, during the first term a minor course in *Hebrew Sight Reading in Samuel*, and during the second term a minor course in *Hebrew Sight Reading in Kings*.

The department of NEW TESTAMENT LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE presents the following list of courses:

Head Professor E. D. Burton will give, during the first term, a minor course in *The First Epistle to the Thessalonians*, with reference to its history and interpretation. During the second term, a minor course in *The Epistle to the Galatians*, with reference to its history and interpretation. During the entire quarter also, a double minor course in *New Testament Greek*, comprising a review of Greek grammar and a study of the syntax of the verb in the New Testament, on the basis of First Corinthians, and a seminar in *The Theology of the Gospel of John*.

Associate Professor Shailer Mathews will be present during the second term. He will give a minor course in *The History of the Apostolic Church*, on the basis of the New Testament Acts and Epistles. Also, a minor course in *The Political History of the Jewish Nation in New Testament Times*. He will also give in the second term a course of five public lectures on the *Social Teachings of Jesus*.

It will be seen that this programme presents a number of beginning courses, and major courses in which a great deal of work can be done in a short time. This provision is made for the large number of students who come to The University for the summer quarter only, or even for a single term of six weeks. The standard of work done in this quarter being the same as that done in other quarters of the year, university credit toward a degree will be given in the same way for all courses taken. Entrance may be made for the entire quarter from July 1st to September 23d, or for either term, the second beginning August 12th. The tuition fee is forty dollars for the quarter, or twenty dollars for either term. Ministers and theological students doing two-thirds of their work in the Divinity School are exempt from the tuition fee. Upon application to The University a special circular of information regarding the work of the coming summer quarter will be sent.

Notes and Opinions.

Leprosy.—The *Journal* of the German Palestine Society, No. 1 of the current number, contains an article upon leprosy by Dr. Max Sandreczky, Director of the Children's Hospital in Jerusalem, and for many years a physician at the special hospital for lepers in that city. He gives it as his very decided conviction, after a long experience with the disease, that leprosy is not contagious, saying that in his twenty years of work he has never found a single person who became leprous through contagion. As a consequence it is unnecessary and unkind to isolate the individuals so afflicted, and as a matter of fact the lepers are allowed to frequent the cities and bazars, not only of Jerusalem and other Palestinian cities, but also in other places through the East. But while leprosy is not transmitted by contact, it is transmitted by heredity, although individuals in the series may be passed by. He states that no appearance of leprosy manifests itself in the child until the age of six or seven years is reached. The disease is due in Palestine to unfavorable sanitary conditions, such as foul air, bad water, the oil and fat used in foods, the use of partly decayed olives and cheese, and spoiled meat. The better class of citizens are not affected by the disease, it is found only among the poor and the shiftless. Dr. Sandreczky maintains that leprosy can be cured, though not easily. He himself cured a boy of ten after four years of treatment according to advanced methods, and the genuineness of this cure has been acknowledged by a number of European specialists. Such news as this is encouraging, and leads to the confident hope that this scourge of the Oriental peoples will in time be removed by cleanliness and care, two things which the lower classes of the East as yet have little idea of.

Some Recent Views of the Creation and the Deluge.—Some attempts, more or less amusing or instructive, have recently been made to explain the two great events that stand in the forefront of human history, as given us in the book of Genesis. Herr Stentzel, in his *The Creation, the Deluge and God* holds that sometime in the beginnings of the world a great flood came, from which, in course of time, the world reëmerged; that this latter phenomenon is the creation referred to in the book of Genesis, with which we are familiar. It followed, rather than preceded, the flood. At this juncture a great comet appeared with two tails, and the memory of this phenomenon survived, especially in the worship of mankind. To this phenomenon he traces the origin of conceptions as varied as these: Tiamat, the dragon of the Babylonian myths; Dagon, the fish god; the plural form in *elohim*, cherubim; Vishnu,

under the form of a fish, etc. Humanity found in this comet its first god, and later ages personified it in these forms. The author has even gone so far as to identify this comet with that of the year A.D. 1807, and dates it B.C. 3332.

Schwartz, in his *The Deluge and the Wanderings of the Peoples*, makes the flood a purely natural occurrence, and finds references to it in the *Yü King*, a sacred book of China. The desert of Gobi in western China was in primitive times a great inland sea, bounded on the west by a great mountain chain. A tremendous earthquake broke down this mountain wall, and the mass of water poured down through the gap upon the valleys west and south-west, as far as the Black Sea, destroying millions of inhabitants, causing great migrations of peoples, occasioning changes of climate, and involving the partial glaciation of western Asia and Europe. The Chinese chronology would make this come in 2297 B.C.

Far more important than these startling hypotheses is the study of the whole subject which has been made by Gunkel in his *Creation and Chaos*. Here, many myths, legends, historical recollections among all the ancient Semitic peoples have been traced forward and backward,—backward to their origin, and forward to their latest forms, such as it is claimed appear in the twelfth chapter of Revelation. The fundamental thesis is that all these go back to certain Babylonian creation-myths, especially the legend of the victory of Marduk over Tiamat, and that as such they entered the religious tradition of Israel and profoundly influenced its whole course. In its form in the book of Genesis, this myth has been made the vehicle of the loftiest religious ideas. In later periods it came to have an eschatological bearing, and as such is found in the Prophets as a picture of the coming judgment. It runs down through the apocalyptic literature, and reappears finally in the twelfth chapter of Revelation. The striking thing about this book is that it represents a very conservative criticism along with a very bold hypothesis, not altogether satisfactorily proved, respecting the presence of these representations and the use made of them in Hebrew literature.

Last of all may be mentioned Sir William Dawson's sober and conservative endeavor to prove the reality of the deluge and its divine character, as recorded in the early chapters of Genesis. It is in a little tract called *The Historical Deluge*, published by the Revell Company, at twenty-five cents. The learned and devout author argues for the primitive and contemporaneous character of the tradition contained in Genesis. He asserts the universality of the deluge and brings geology to prove his case. Finally he insists that the use made of the fact of the deluge in the New Testament is deeply significant to men of today. The discussion is enlightening but not convincing.

Book Reviews.

The Records and Letters of the Apostolic Age. By ERNEST DEWITT BURTON
Professor of New Testament Interpretation in the University of Chicago
New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 8vo., pp. 238.

Only recently there appeared in one of our leading religious weeklies this question: "Will you please give me the chronological order of the New Testament books?" A definite, clear, final answer to that question is not yet possible, but for help in study, there certainly is possible a very much better arrangement than our Testaments, English or Greek, now offer. All careful, scholarly attempts, therefore, to assist us in this way, by putting the materials in the best shape for use, are to be cordially welcomed and appreciated. Every life of Paul, has of course, sought to do this, but it is well to have simply the arrangement of the facts preparatory to the studying and making of our own lives of Paul. Professor Burton's book aims to give precisely this. His three-fold task is "to give each of the several letters and the Revelation a position, in relation to one another, and to the narrative of the Acts, corresponding to the point in the history at which each was written; to glean from the letters and from the speeches, in the book of the Acts all the narrative material they contain, and to place this at the points corresponding to the time of the events narrated; to divide the whole history into its natural periods and divisions."

As a whole the book is characterized by careful discrimination, cautious statement, and scholarly thoroughness. Its aim is specific and well guarded; its method simple and clear. That it is open to criticism in its conclusions regarding the date and position of some of the books as, *e. g.*, the Revelation, 1 and 2 Peter, is simply to say that scholars are by no means agreed regarding the dates of these writings. The vexed problems of the chronology of the apostolic age offer opportunity again for differing judgments. The positions of the book however are those of a wisely conservative criticism — and there is evident all through, the study of the best recent literature upon the subject. The plan of the work is admirable. It gets the true lines of cleavage in the history of the Acts, and presents them clearly to the eye. So much for general criticism, which can be only commendatory. When we pass to statements of detail, there are some matters, which, apart from the assumed conclusions regarding the dates of certain books beget questions. Let us take first, the identification of Acts 15: 1-29 and Gal. 2: 1-10 on page 37; Professor Burton accepts, provisionally, at least, the location of the Galatian churches in the southern part of the Roman province of Galatia (p. 213). In that case they were established upon his first missionary journey (Acts 13: 14 ff), which followed soon after

his return from the relief visit to Jerusalem (12:25). One of the points in the Epistle to the Galatians which Paul strenuously insists upon, is that he had not received anything from the older apostles in the way of instruction or commission. His reference to his visit to Jerusalem is to prove this. If, however, the visit of Gal. 2 is the same as that of Acts 15 the very contrary of what he was seeking to establish appears. Notwithstanding the honored names which stand for this identification, it makes very serious difficulties in the narrative. Paul made the two visits to Jerusalem referred to in his Epistle to the Galatians before he ever saw the Galatians. He could honestly say then, that when he came to them, he came instructed only from above. That were impossible if one of the Jerusalem visits was the council visit. From this follow other changes. Peter's conduct reported in Gal. 3:11-12 if immediately after his speech at the council, Acts 15:7-11, seems inexplicable (see p. 209). Identify Gal. 2:1-10 with Acts 11:30 and 12:25 and Peter's action is not improbable.

Professor Ramsay gives very cogent reasons why Acts 22:17-21 cannot be identified with the first visit mentioned in Gal. 1:18-24. Again it follows from the harmonization of Gal. 2:1-10 with Acts 11:30 and 12:25, that we must reckon backward fourteen years from this to get the time of Paul's conversion. That would bring us, counting full years to 32 or 33; counting terminal fractions of years as years to 34 or 35. This would result in changes only in the early dates of the Pauline chronology. The author accepts the theory of four Corinthian epistles, two of which have been lost, but it is not easy to see what has been gained by placing the second visit to Corinth before our first epistle, rather than between the first and second. In reference to 1 Peter, 2 Peter, and Jude, he remarks, "It is quite possible that all of these letters were written after the fall of Jerusalem, rather than before." There is more to be said for this judgment than at first appears, the absence of all reference to the destruction of Jerusalem notwithstanding.

It is safe to say that there is not within such brief compass and in such compact form any better guide for the arrangement of materials for the study of the apostolic age than this work. Its lines are drawn carefully and distinctly, and the references to literature if one wishes to pass over these lines into the discussion of New Testament introduction, are full and up to date. The notes bearing upon translation show exegetical care and are very helpful. It is to be hoped that the work will have wide recognition and use. It certainly merits it.

J. S. RIGGS.

The Elements of The Higher Criticism. By ANDREW C. ZENOS, Professor of Biblical Theology in McCormick Theological Seminary. New York: Funk & Wagnalls Company. 1895. Pp. xiii. + 255. \$1.00.

There has been great need of a book like this. Such works as touch upon the subject are either, like Professor Briggs', written in the spirit of controversy

or, like the great work of Bernheim, *Lehrbuch der Historischen Methode*, inaccessible to English readers. The plan of Professor Zenos is very thorough-going. After defining higher criticism and stating its objects, he devotes three chapters to its methods. He then takes up the postulates, the doctrinal aspects, and the history of higher criticism, and adds a couple of chapters upon the more recent critics. For the student who is a stranger to critical methods, chapters three to five are to be especially recommended. It would be difficult to find a simpler description of the methods upon which the critic proceeds than is here given. The author, perhaps, gives an undue weight to cautions that must attend the use of these methods, and in his account of criticism as a whole is far more concerned with the mistakes of the critics than with the actual results which they have obtained. Nevertheless, this description of the method is precisely that which is needed by the church as a whole. No one can read this little manual without wishing that the desire of the author may be fulfilled, and that it may become a text-book in universities and in seminaries. But there is also a broader mission for such a work among clergymen. Whether he be a friend or a foe of critical results, no man can read the account here given of the aims and methods of criticism without feeling convinced that, so far as its method is concerned, criticism is unobjectionable. And it will be a happy day for a rational understanding of the Bible when even this elementary conviction gets possession of the rank and file of Christian workers.

An especially valuable feature of the book is a list and classification of scholars with their chief works. In some cases it may be that the author's conservative point of view has led him to include in the list of conservative scholars men who are of comparatively little importance, but, apart from that, his lists and bibliographies are very complete and catholic. We regret however, that the mechanical make-up of the book is not a little better, and especially that the system of references to footnotes is not a different one.

S. M.

The Literary Study of the Bible ; an Account of the Leading Forms of Literature Represented in the Sacred Writings. Intended for Young Readers. By RICHARD G. MOULTON, M.A., PH.D. Boston: D. C. Heath & Company, 1895. 12mo., pp. xii.+533. \$2.00.

Modern Reader's Bible ; the Proverbs. By RICHARD G. MOULTON, M.A., PH.D. New York, Macmillan & Company. 1895. pp. xxiv.+194. 50 cents. Also, *Ecclesiasticus* and companion volumes.

Passages of the Bible Chosen for their Literary Beauty and Interest. By J. G. FRAZIER, M.A. London: Adam & Charles Black. 1895. New York: Macmillan & Company. p. xvi.+467. \$2.00.

These various works are the outcome of the new interest in the study of the Bible. They are concerned, not with the critical or the historical, but

with the purely literary aspect of the Scriptures. For that reason they are of special interest to the general reader, but at the same time they will be also of service to the biblical student. The point of view adopted by the *littérateur* is very different from that of the exegete or the historian but it cannot be overlooked by either. In fact, no little crudity in exegesis, not to say criticism, is the result of a failure to approach the Scriptures from the literary side. For literature does not consist of mere words, nor does the study of literature consist in the counting of constructions or the tracing of influence of documents, indispensable as both must be for the student.

Of these three volumes, that of Frazier is the most uniquely gotten up, and its binding, its marvelously tough but light paper, and its firm black print make it an object of delight for the reader. Its general purpose is to give the choice literary passages of the Bible at such length as will make them easy reading. The passages are arranged on the whole as they occur in the Bible, the book beginning with the account of the creation and the fall of man, and ending with the description of Jerusalem the Golden. No one can read or even glance at this anthology of Scripture passages without being newly impressed with the marvelous literary beauty of the Jewish sacred literature, and that, too, although the compiler has not attempted any literary arrangement of his selections except that which can be found by proper printing of the authorized version. The forty pages or so of notes appended to the collection bring much interesting matter to the illustration and explanation of the text. Taken altogether, it must be called as attractive a collection of Scripture passages as is to be found.

The series of little books coming from Professor Moulton are also wonderfully attractive, though in a different way. But they are models of good taste in both print and binding. In fact, even among the editions of Shakespeare, it would be difficult to find daintier little books than these. In the reproduction of both Proverbs and Ecclesiasticus, Professor Moulton has used the revised version of the Scriptures, but has printed the different passages according to rules governing sonnets and other literary forms. Any one who has never approached the poetical books of the Bible from the same point of view as that from which he would read a poet of his own day, has lost something of their charm. It is perhaps true that the Hebrew peoples never knew of a sonnet precisely like those of Sidney, or of some of the other poetical forms used by Greek and modern writers, but none the less there is a new revelation and enjoyment in this modern arrangement. Concerning its scientific value there may be, perhaps, less certainty.

The introductions prefixed by Professor Moulton are full of literary suggestion and information. We welcome the new series most heartily since notwithstanding it "does not touch matters of devotion or theology," it strips the Books of Wisdom of their "mediæval and anti-literary form in which our current Bibles allow them to be obscured," and thus makes their wonderful ethical insight all the more appreciable.

The other work by Professor Moulton is intended less as a book for reading than a treatise upon the Bible as a literary product. In this work he takes up such matters as literary classification as applied to the sacred Scriptures, lyric poetry of the Bible, biblical history and epics, the philosophy of the Bible or wisdom literature, biblical literature of prophecy, biblical literature of rhetoric. Of these the special student will probably be best satisfied with the chapters upon the literary classification of the Scriptures, but the others will also be found helpful. The successful experience which the author has had in treating before many audiences the Bible as a literary treasure-house, to say nothing of his recognized position among students of literature, makes this volume of great value to all Bible students. Especially should attention be called to the appendices in which the various books of the Bible are analyzed from a literary standpoint, and classified according to form. Those students—and they are by no means few—who have not freed themselves from the shackles of chapter and verse would do well to follow the author's suggestion and with the aid of these tables and the use of a pencil, "do that for biblical history which in any other history would be done for them by the printer." It is to be hoped that the work will get wide circulation, not merely as a book for reading, but as a text-book in colleges and seminaries.

S. M.

LITERARY NOTES.

IN the *Church History* by Dr. Sohme (Macmillan & Co.) the student has an exceptionally valuable manual. It is written with great sympathy and distinctness joined to the acumen of a teacher of law. Few manuals can compare with it in tracing the broad current of the life of the church.

THE latest volume in the Cambridge Bible Schools and Colleges is that upon *The Epistles to Timothy and Titus*, by Rev. A. E. Humphreys, M.A., (imported by Macmillan & Co., New York, 271 pp., 80 c.) Commentaries upon the pastoral epistles are not numerous, so that a new one will be welcomed. And as this particular one is of high merit in every respect, it will be very useful. The Pauline authorship is maintained in an extended, lucid and scholarly introduction of fifty-six pages, an excellent survey of the whole problem. There are also good introductory biographies of Timothy and Titus. The commentary portion is as complete and satisfactory as the limits of the volume permit. The book certainly does honor to the series, and will be found more than usually helpful to the reader of Paul's last letters.

IN his book entitled *The Greater Life and Work of Christ*, published by the Fleming H. Revel Co., Alexander Patterson endeavors to set forth the work of Christ in all the periods in which, according to his view, Christ is revealed in the Scriptures. These are, The Eternal Past, Creation, The Old

Testament Age, His Earthly Life, His Present State and Work, The Day of the Lord, The Eternal Future. The author is an anti-evolutionist in philosophy and a literalist in interpretation of Scripture. He is particularly interested in the Apocalypse and makes large use of it. If these be defects in the book, it nevertheless remains true that for its broad outlook over human history conceived of as the working out of a divine plan, it is worthy of study.

THE series of Handbooks for Bible Classes, which already contains a large number of excellent helps to biblical study, has been advanced by the publication of the volume on *The Epistle of Paul to the Ephesians*, by James S. Candlish, D.D. (imported by Chas. Scribner's Sons, New York. 132 pp., 60 c). The same author has already contributed to the series the volumes on the *Sacraments*, the *Work of the Holy Spirit*, the *Christian Doctrine of God*, and the *Biblical Doctrine of Sin*. The new volume is in contrast with these formally as being a commentary rather than a theological treatise, but the difference is only formal, because the Epistle to the Ephesians is eminently theological, and it is to this side of the epistle that Dr. Candlish has given most attention. Much might be said by way of commendation for this little book, which takes its place as one of many good commentaries on Ephesians.

FOLLOWING the revision of his Old Testament work entitled *Hours with the Bible*, Dr. Cunningham Geikie entered the New Testament field again, in which he had already gleaned his popular *Life of Christ*. The fruit of his labors is three volumes, one upon the Gospels and two upon the Acts and Epistles. The latter volumes have recently appeared under the title *New Testament Hours, Vol. II. The Apostles: Their Lives and Letters* (2 vols., Jas. Pott & Co., New York. 519, 616 pp., \$1.50 each). The work consists of an expanded narrative of the Acts, with the insertion of the epistles in their chronological positions in the Acts history. A running interpretation and commentary, with many side-lights of an historical and archæological nature, accompany the narrative, in the manner so familiar to all readers of Dr. Geikie's popular, readable and in the main trustworthy books. The chronology of the apostolic age which forms the framework of the book is that which is generally approved, with the exception of the years to which Paul's Pastoral Epistles and his death are assigned, viz., 64-65, instead of 66-67. The South Galatian theory is adopted, and the Epistle to the Galatians assigned to the year 55, and written from Antioch. The book will doubtless find many readers, and will be serviceable and interesting to those who have not the energy to study works of a deeper and more scholarly character.

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